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## Near East/South Asia Report

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26 December 1984

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ISTANBUL PATRIARCH DENIES ASALA THREAT AT BBC INTERVIEW

Istanbul MARMARA in Armenian 19 Nov 84 pp 1,4

[Text] As we reported in our Saturday edition, the Turkish section of the BBC broadcast on Saturday an interview by reporter Nuri Colakoglu with the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Armenian Patriarch of Turkey following their meeting in the Lambett Palace. The BBC first reported about the meeting of the two spiritual leaders. [According to the report,] Patriarch Shnork said: "We know each other well. We are old friends. We had previous meetings in Istanbul and London." The Patriarch added: "The issue that troubles us most at this time in Turkey is terrorism and violence. Every time an act of terrorism is committed and an Armenian organization claims responsibility for that foul incident, we condemn it openly and sincerely. I believe that terrorism is a disease that afflicts all nations. All countries will eventually realize how big an evil terrorism is for humanity, and I believe that all nations will one day join hands to eradicate this disease."

Question: You had meetings with Armenian leaders in the Soviet Union and the United States. You undoubtedly expressed the same sentiments while you were there. How were your remarks received in those countries?

Patriarch Shnork: I went to the Soviet Union, where the center of our church is located, to conduct official church business. We are revising the laws of the church and we are working on a new Canon Law. I worked for approximately two weeks in the Soviet Union. Later, I traveled to America and I toured all cities with sizable Armenian communities. I delivered sermons, I visited cultural centers, I met several prominent individuals, and I came to the conclusion that most of the Armenians in the diaspora do not condone or support acts of violence. In fact, they condemn these acts but most of the time they do not raise their voices openly because they contend that such expressions of condemnation could be dangerous in Armenian communities in the diaspora. But I was received very warmly. I talked to them about the negative consequences of violence. I pray and I believe that the time has come to end these incidents once and for all. I believe that two communities which have lived together peacefully for centuries can restore their friendly relations. In Istanbul we live in an harmonious atmosphere with our Turkish countrymen. We believe that such friendly relations can also be established between Turks and Armenians living in Europe and America.

Question: According to reports from Washington that reached us before your arrival in London, ASALA threatened you because of your views. How true is that report? Were you in any way threatened in this connection?

Patriarch Shnork: As far as I know, there was no assassination attempt or any other act of violence against me. However, there are extremists who are not pleased with my sermons for peace. These extremists may have had discussions among themselves. But as far as I know, no direct threat was issued against me nor were any assassination attempts organized. There are persons who are unsettled by remarks that promote peace.

Following this interview, the BBC correspondent interviewed the Archbishop of Canterbury who said that he is trying to return the hospitality he was accorded in Istanbul. The Archbishop said: "I was very pleased with the news I received about the Armenian churches in Istanbul. We talked about religion and the education and training of people and the young generation. We also exchanged views on how to prepare spiritual leaders who will serve their communities and countries well. I am very pleased to hear that Armenians in Turkey live in conditions of freedom. Before the departure of the Armenian Patriarch from London, we will issue a joint pastoral where we will state that in this planet of ours where violence has become so widespread Christianity must set an example for the peaceful coexistence of nations."

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## ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

### TURKISH PAPER COMMENTS ON 'DISGUSTING' ARMENIAN ACTIVITIES

Istanbul MARMARA in Armenian 20 Nov 84 p 1

[Text] GUNES airs the following views in its today's edition:

It has now become an indisputable fact that certain forces operating from behind the scenes go into action whenever Turkey shows up on the international agenda and implement their goals by using Armenian terrorists. We have been witnessing the same scenario for the last 11 years. First, efforts are made to include Turkey in the international agenda and when Turkey begins participating in international meetings Armenian criminals who act as tools for mysterious forces draw their guns, lie in ambush and kill Turkish officials indiscriminately.

On 22 January 1983, an ASALA terrorist named Tovmasian threw two grenades into the Turkish Airlines office in Paris and was arrested on the spot. Four days before that incident, ASALA's attorney Patrick Devejian had declared:

"ASALA's goal is economic sabotage and the Turkish Airlines is a target."

On 13 May 1984, the leader of the Armenian National Movement, Ara Toranian said:

"We can sink Turkish ships."

It is clearly seen from these declarations that the goal of Armenian criminals is to wage economic sabotage against Turkish institutions. Without forgetting these statements let us take a look back at the past.

Just before the assassination of Enver Ergun, a Turkish diplomat who worked at the UN in Vienna, the Permanent Committee for Economic and Trade Cooperation of the Islamic Conference held a meeting in Istanbul. We heard about the assassination of Ergun only a few days after the meeting had begun.

We find numerous similar examples if we look further back. Some of the well-known ones are:

--Around the beginning of March 1983, Soviet Minister (Markovich Kornienko) unexpectedly arrived in Ankara. Five days after his arrival, the Turkish Ambassador in Yugoslavia, Galip Balkar was assassinated by Armenian criminals.

--On 28 April 1984, Prime Minister Turgut Ozal left for an official visit to Iran with an eye to signing a \$2-billion trade agreement. On that same day, Armenian criminals went into action and killed Sadiye Yonder, an employee of the Turkish embassy in Tehran, and her husband Isik Yonder.

--In May 1982, U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig arrived in Turkey to discuss, among other issues, the sale of F-16 fighters. Two days after his visit, the Turkish consul in Boston, Orhan Gunduz, was assassinated. The scenario is always the same. The fingers pulling the triggers of the guns belong to the same persons.

--In September 1982, there were two important international developments for Turkey. The first one was the signing of an agreement with a French oil company to build a refinery in the Turkish sector of Cyprus to process 5 million metric tons of petroleum a year.

The second development was related to the positive steps taken in connection with the repayment schedule of Turkey's foreign debts at an IMF meeting in Canada. The Turkish public was overjoyed to read these news in the press. However, they were immediately followed by the sad news of the assassination of Bora Suelkan, the administrative attache of the Turkish consulate in Burgaz, Bulgaria.

These examples clearly prove that there is a conspiracy to hurt Turkey's reputation.

Turkey will no doubt frustrate these disgusting efforts and will continue to maintain its strength.

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ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

COMMUNIQUE ON ISTANBUL PATRIARCH'S VISIT WITH FRG MINISTER

Istanbul MARMARA in Armenian 21 Nov 84 p 1

[Text] During a visit to Turkey in 1981, the West German Minister of State for Foreign Relations, Alois Mertes, visited our Patriarchate together with a delegation consisting of members of all political parties in the FRG.

During his visit to West Germany, the Armenian Patriarch of Turkey expressed the desire to pay a courtesy call to the said minister. At 11:00 am this morning (20 November 1984), His Holiness fulfilled his desire by meeting with Minister Mertes following his meeting with Turkish Ambassador in Bonn Oktay Iscen.

During the meeting, the honorable minister officially confirmed that the Holy Father's testimony in 1981 about the administration which assumed power after the 12 September revolution to establish law and order and public security had influenced his government to take a positive stance toward the Turkish government. The minister also recalled the hospitality accorded to him during his visit to the Patriarchate and the favorable impression he received in the course of his contacts with Armenian church officials, particularly his constructive meeting with His Beatitude Catholicos Vazken I in Holy Echmiadzin. The minister inquired about the present state of the Armenian community in Turkey upon which the Holy Patriarch conveyed all necessary information to confirm that the Armenian community enjoys much better conditions and lives in complete security despite the acts of terrorism committed abroad in the name of Armenians.

His Holiness used this occasion to condemn these acts once again. Minister Mertes in turn expressed his deep grief and anguish for the assassination of a Turkish diplomat at the UN yesterday.

After a warm conversation that lasted more than half an hour, the Holy Patriarch departed from the minister's office with positive impressions.

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## FLN OFFICIAL DISCUSSES DEVELOPMENT

Havana BOHEMIA in Spanish 2 Nov 84 pp 61-65

[Interview with National Liberation Front spokesman Lazhari Cheriet by Juan Sanchez in Havana, date not given]

[Text] The first of November will mark the 30th anniversary of the beginning of the armed struggle of the Algerian people under the leadership of the National Liberation Front (FLN) against French colonial domination. The first uprising was in Aures, south of Constantine. From there it spread to Grande Kabylie, the eastern mountain zone, and shortly thereafter the entire country erupted in a great revolutionary blaze. After a decade of bloody battles, Algeria won its independence. The colonizers had pursued a policy for 132 years which denigrated not only the rights of the Algerians, but also their most basic economic and social needs. The beginning, then, was difficult, with such a legacy. The catastrophic situation inherited from the colonial era made the solution of the problems posed by the consolidation and development of a new life particularly complex and difficult. From the very moment independence was won 22 years ago, Algeria, relying on the experience in the revolutionary struggle, and taking over the enterprises and the assets abandoned by the former colonizers, managed to avoid economic disaster and cleared the path of the most serious neocolonial threats, and in addition paved the way for the establishment of socialist and collective forms of ownership.

BOHEMIA took advantage of the recent visit paid to us by Lazhari Cheriet, a member of the Central Committee and the permanent secretariat of the FLN, to obtain a brief assessment of the revolution in that brotherly country. He had the following to say about the current economic situation.

"I can tell you that, in overall terms, the economic situation in Algeria is good. It is good from the domestic and foreign points of view. Domestically, at this time, thanks to all of the steps taken since the 4th Party Congress, and the measures adopted in the financial sector, as well as the experience acquired by the administrators, we have achieved positive results. But the situation is also good from the point of view of foreign relations, because as soon as the international economic crisis erupted and the negative effects began to be felt in the economies of the Third World countries, as well as the developed ones, President Chadli Bendjedid promulgated the proper measures to avoid any waste, that is to say any expenditure which was not essential. From the international point of view, this meant avoiding recourse to foreign loans. Our debts were reduced, a schedule of payments was

established and we are beginning to pay off some of the commitments undertaken, in some cases in advance. This has confirmed the view of certain financial bodies to the effect that the state of the economy in Algeria is good. And this despite the international monetary chaos, the decline of sale prices for hydrocarbons, and the risks existing in other sectors."

#### Independence in Food Resources

[Question] Recently we have noted a concern in the party and government bodies in Algeria about what President Bendjedid himself has termed "independence in food resources," with a view to avoiding the foreign pressure which could result from weakness in this sector.

[Answer] Indeed. Concerning this matter--independence in terms of food--we are currently doing everything possible to mobilize the productive forces in the farm sector to the maximum, so that all producers and workers on the land, through the party or through the National Union of Algerian Peasants (with a membership of about a million), can become aware of the need to redouble the effort to produce more and to produce high quality, in order to be able to meet the country's needs. We are doing intensive work, focusing on the peasant sector. Our efforts are also designed to ensure that our country will import ever smaller quantities of food products from foreign countries. We do not want to use up our oil income purchasing food products. Hydrocarbon products should serve basically to equip the country, and not to provide food, and for this reason we are reorganizing the farm sector. The Agricultural Revolution Ministry must make available to all the peasants the tools, machinery and instructions they need, as well as the required fertilizer. Within this context, we have decided to assign all of the agronomical engineers the country has in such a way that they can work on the land directly beside the peasants, rather than in offices in the capital or in other cities.

#### The Five-Year Plan (1980-1985)

Having already taken up economic issues, we asked a question about the five-year development plan which will end soon (1980-1985). Cheriet had come to the interview "armed," and after a quick consultation of the papers in front of him, he responded as follows.

"We cannot make any assessment of our first five-year plan without mention of the policy and strategy for national development. It could be said that Algeria undertook the task of planning with the drafting of the first three-year plan in 1967. Then we adopted two four-year plans, 1970-1974 and 1974-1978. The objective then was to attempt a complete evaluation of all of the economic problems of the country and the assets we have. Another goal was to work to meet the needs of our people. Finally, as a third objective, we made an effort to begin preparations to break away from the mechanisms of dependence, in order to build an independent national economy. Within the framework of these plans, we established a certain number of priorities, which had to do with the organization of the economy, employment, social changes, health, education, agriculture and industry. By way of example, so that you

will have some idea, during the first plans we created several hundreds of thousands of jobs, and between the implementation of the first three-year plan and the end of the four-year plan, the number of jobs increased from 1,750,000 to 2,850,000. In other words, an increase of 63.4 percent was achieved. I should note that during this period, the increase in the active population was something like 4 percent, representing an important limiting factor for our country. Where the realm of social changes and income is concerned, the job policy fully benefitted the least-favored population strata. From the point of view of health, we are making great efforts both in training doctors and in the paramedical corps, as well as in the realm of prophylaxis, maternity-infant care, etc. We have achieved a considerable decrease in infant mortality and we established free medical care. In the realm of education as well, we have made a great effort. Algeria is one of the few countries in the Third World which devotes a third of its budget to the education and training sector, since we have effected an increase from 10 percent of the population enrolled in school to the present 25 percent. In other words, in less than 25 years we have established schools for 4.5 million students. In the farm sector, the plans to which I have referred stressed the need for modernization, such as to raise the sector to the necessary level and to be able to expand the socialist sector, to consolidate self-management and to expand the system of cooperatives. We set forth these goals in the text of the Agrarian Revolution Charter, under the slogan "the land for those who work it." As to the private sector, the holdings of which were limited by the agrarian revolution itself, it is recognized constitutionally as an objective ally and as a factor essential to our domestic economic life."

#### Priorities in Industrial Diversification

[Question] And in the industrial development sector, what did the five-year plan require?

[Answer] In the industrial sector we are making a great effort, particularly with regard to hydrocarbons, oil chemistry, the basic industries and the processing industries. We are creating a major production tool, and at the same time we are diversifying this production throughout the whole of the national territory, placing special stress on regional balance, such as to reduce the disparity between the northern coastal regions and the most neglected parts of the country. We are creating industrial installations and placing them both in the south and in the mountains, because these two regions are lagging considerably from the economic point of view. This policy saw its continuation with the drafting of the five-year plan (1980-1985), which was prepared and adopted by the special party congress which was held in June of 1980. This five-year plan comes within the plan for development between 1980 and 1990, that is to say our decade of development. Also the priorities which are to be continued with the second five-year plan, which we will implement beginning next January, were established. This plan places emphasis on certain key sectors, including agriculture, water resources, health, housing, vocational and technical training.

[Question] Can you give us some concrete figures?

[Answer] For example, in the housing sector, the special congress of our party noted a considerable deficit, totaling something like 2 million. It was necessary to create 2 million housing units, for which reason we directed the work of all of the economic and social sectors toward the achievement of the goals set forth in the five-year plan. Another example we might mention has to do with vocational training. The country had a tremendous deficit in this sector, and therefore we included in the plan priorities the establishment of 400 vocational and technical training centers, with credit allocations totaling 14 billion dinars, as compared to the 2,500,000,000 in the preceding period. We also allocated great importance to the farm sector, because we believe that the oil and the gas in Algeria are assets which are limited (nonrenewable) in time, but the real wealth of a country is provided by its agriculture and its independence in food resources. We know how strategic food products have become the blackmail currency in the hands of some of these powers, and how they are used to threaten and alter the political independence of the countries which need to buy wheat, corn or whatever other product it may be. Within this framework, we continued to work on the basis of the decisions adopted by the Central Committee of the FLN, and we undertook to modernize our agriculture. It was decided to provide all of the sectors involved in farm production with all of the materials and products they need. We also noted the need to build 11 new dams, supplementing those included in the plans for preceding periods. We also gave special emphasis in the five-year plan to small and average water installations, and we gave priority to the development of activities pertaining to the basic infrastructures, such as transportation (railroads, above all) and storage and distribution circuits. And these actions, as a whole, were to serve to support the national territorial changes approved after the 4th Congress and implemented just prior to the 5th Congress. However, the most important activity included in the five-year plan is that having to do with the general organization and direction of the economy, as well as the reorganization of the productive apparatus. The planning of the enterprises on all levels, central, regional and local, was carried out most rigorously by the higher authorities and bodies. The reorganization of the enterprises allowed the country to create a much more functional unit, which we could master more easily and manage more efficiently. It was more productive. These units were distributed throughout the whole of the country. This was done on the one hand to decentralize activities, away from the capital, and on the other, to create an economic industrial network in other parts of Algeria. Each of these enterprises specialized, and its financial autonomy was consolidated. This operation was followed by another important step, the financial reorganization of all of the economic sectors, providing an indispensable supplement to recovery. To complete this synthesis with regard to the five-year plan, I would also like to tell you that the recovery measures adopted and implemented are designed first of all to achieve healthy economic functioning, as well as to put an end to our foreign indebtedness. We have launched the process of paying off our debt, and this process and these measures have made it possible to improve Algeria's credibility on the international scene and, with its consolidation, to safeguard the freedom and independence of our country to make political decisions.

## OAU Summit Meeting

[Question] As you know, the next OAU summit meeting has been scheduled for the middle of November. What is Algeria's position on the main problems being discussed in this African regional organization?

[Answer] Algeria belongs both to the Arab family and to the African family, both of which belong to the great family of nonaligned nations. Within this framework, we are working within the Organization for African Unity, which we regard as capable of helping African consolidate decolonization. We also regard the OAU as an organization capable of helping Africa to achieve its liberation and the establishment of fruitful collaboration among its members. Above all, we regard it as capable of finding a solution to all the conflicts and disputes which often arise out of colonial and imperialist actions. Based on these principles, Algeria supports all activities designed to bring about this decolonization, whether in countries located in Africa, in the Arab world, in Asia or in Latin America. Thus our position on the Western Sahara comes within this context, in view of the fact that the Saharan problem is basically one of decolonization, in accordance with the resolutions of the OAU, the United Nations and the nonaligned nations. Unfortunately, this decolonization is being opposed by the dilatory maneuvers and the dangerous policy pursued by Morocco, despite and in opposition to the whole of the African community.

[Question] What about Chad?

[Answer] Our position is identical to that of those countries which want to be faithful to international law, to the United Nations Charter and that of the OAU, and to the need to safeguard peace throughout the world. We believe that the difficulties the people of Chad are facing can only be resolved within the context of a fraternal dialogue among all the people of Chad, and that they must freely choose the system they want, the policy they want to pursue and the vision they choose to have, as Africans. For our part, we support the territorial integrity of Chad, and within this context we remain faithful to the decisions of the OAU requiring that all African nations respect the frontiers of each country on the continent inherited from the colonial era. We are pleased by the beginning of the withdrawal of foreign troops from Chad, and we are working with the other friendly countries in Africa to establish understanding and agreement among the people of Chad.

[Question] What about Namibia?

[Answer] Our position with regard to Namibia is also one resulting from our revolution. We support the struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of the SWAPO, and we believe that the international community should show solidarity with the struggle of this people and should work to eliminate the racist regime in South Africa. We believe that apartheid, like Zionism, is the offspring of Nazism.

We could not fail to ask one question about the role of Algeria in the current dynamics of building the Greater Arab Maghreb. Lazhari Cheriet, who had been in Cuba for several days as the head of an FLN Party delegation from Algeria, replied as follows.



"The Maghreb policy of Algeria is not new. It represents a profound aspiration of the Algerian people, as well as the peoples of Tunisia, Morocco, and Libya. It is based on a certain number of basic facts: the civilization, participation in Islam as an Arab country, language, the sufferings of the past and the hopes for the future. Within this framework, our country, since the beginning of the revolution, and even before the revolution, has always worked to realize this ideal, and the Maghreb, as we see it and as we want to build it, is a Maghreb of the peoples. This unity should be achieved with the conscious support of the popular masses, and not on the basis of resolutions adopted on the top political decision-making levels. We believe that this edifice we must build can be solid, feasible and enduring in time only if it emanates from the people. We know of other experiences, wherein with the disappearance of the leaders who had made the decisions, everything collapsed. What we propose to our brothers in the other countries in the Maghreb is to begin this construction at the base, founded on a certain number of principles. First of all, mutual confidence and respect for other countries and for the options of each of the peoples. Once this confidence and this cooperation are achieved in our countries, we can advance with a number of immediate achievements. For example, we have what we could define as a joint policy with regard to education and health. We can implement many projects in the transportation sector, and create complementary economies. Little by little, we can advance and progress in this collaboration, which will in turn allow men to make contact, to know each other better, to work together. And all of this will lead us toward harmony in our foreign policy, toward agreement and joint decision-making when it comes to the basic problems affecting the Maghreb as a whole. This confidence establishes security and guarantees and the collaboration which produces positive results, leading us to create an important identity involving about 45 to 50 million individuals in 1984. But by the year 2000, we will be 100 million. We could also unify our defense resources and prevent intervention of any type in our affairs by foreign powers. We would not have any further need for bases or foreign aid, since as soon as this confidence exists among us and as soon as we work together, both from the domestic and foreign point of view, this would be the ideal for which Algeria is working.

#### Cuba and Algeria

Relations between Cuba and Algeria were taken up at the end of the interview. "These relations have always been very good, and since we won our independence, we have collaborated in many sectors, political as well as economic and social. We are working together in the international arena," Cheriet said, "and we are very often in contact. The relations between the FLN Party and the Communist Party of Cuba are among the most solid, since they have as their basis fraternity and militant determination. We are also contributing through the actions carried out on both sides to the defense of peace, so dear to two countries which have suffered greatly and which want to avoid a tragic future for mankind," Lazhari Cheriet, member of the Central Committee and Secretariat of the FLN Party, said in conclusion.

ASSEMBLY MEMBERS, OPPOSITION ASSESS MUBARAK'S ADMINISTRATION

Assessment by Assembly Members

Cairo AKHIR SA'AH in Arabic No 2609, 24 Oct 84 p 15

[Article by 'Awatif Nash'at]

[Text] What do the people's deputies say about Mubarak's administration? What is their view of the 3 years of the course which Mubarak and what is their evaluation of the accomplishments made during this period and of the evident features of the period?

The evaluation comes not only from the People's assembly members but also from members of the Nile Valley Parliament.

Dr Muhammad 'Abdallah, the chairman of the People's Assembly Foreign Relations Committee and member of the Nile Valley Parliament, has said:

President Mubarak's administration is distinguished by having bolstered Egypt's international status, strengthened Egypt's pioneer role in the nonaligned movement and enhanced its march in the international arena. Egypt has rejoined the Islamic Conference and has been elected U.N. Security Council member with an overwhelming majority.

Egypt, which has always underlined its commitment to peace as a strategic goal, has proven through its strong positions of support for the Palestinian people during the Lebanon crisis that it is Arab Egypt that seeks a comprehensive, lasting and just peace in the area.

There is no doubt that conclusion of the integration charter [between Egypt and Sudan] and bolstering the march of this integration is a magnificent accomplishment by Egypt's foreign line under Mubarak's administration. Moreover, resumption of Egyptian-Jordanian relations confirms the soundness of the line adopted by Egypt at the Arab level. This is a positive and courageous step that will be followed by other steps at the right time. One of the obvious features of President Mubarak's administration is Egypt's utilization of its international status and relations to serve its national interests through application of the concept of the "development diplomacy" whose foundations have been laid

down by President Mubarak. It is a diplomacy that seeks to obtain the largest amount of aid possible and to strengthen international cooperation in order to achieve the development plan objectives.

#### Stability and Democratic Action

Kamal al-Shadhili, the National Democratic Party's organization secretary and member of the People's Assembly and of the Nile Valley Parliament during these 3 years, said:

Every fair man must acknowledge that the credit goes to President Husni Mubarak for the stable democratic action in Egypt in the past 3 years. This action has assumed large and effective dimensions and this leads to stability in all aspects of life. This comes as a result of the president's faith that the democratic climate is the best for dealing with our problems, for enhancing production and for rendering services to the citizens easily and reasonably.

Out of his conviction that democracy is action and behavior, we find President Mubarak meeting with the opposition and its representatives as he meets with the ruling party.

He discusses issues with the opposition and asks for its opinion and advice, especially on national concerns, in freedom from the partisan formula.

The president is obviously concerned with the issue of enhancing production both quantitatively and qualitatively. This interest is evident in his repeated visits to the production sites with the aim of encouragement and followup.

There is also the frankness and lucidity in dealing with the problems and the issues concerning the citizens.

There is the reaffirmation of Egypt's Arabism and the assertion that Egypt is the throbbing heart of Arabism. There is, furthermore, Egypt's international status and its influential role in the nonaligned world.

There is also the reaffirmation of the supremacy of and respect for the law and the reaffirmation that all, both rulers and ruled, are subject to the dictates of the law and that no decisions shall be made in freedom of the control of the judiciary.

Purity and upright conduct are stressed in all the work sites. We find that what is announced makes its way to implementation in order to serve Egypt and its great people.

#### Victory of Egyptian Man

Sayyid Zaki, member of the People's Assembly and of the Nile Valley Parliament, has discussed these 3 years which he calls the years of the Egyptian man's victory, saying:

Three years have passed during President Mubarak's administration and they can be called the years of the Egyptian man's victory because the internal and external transformations that have taken place are for the sake of the Egyptian man. I will cite as an example:

1. Bolstering and entrenching democratic action, considering that a democratic approach founded on consultation between President Mubarak and party chairmen on all that pertains to the Egyptian citizen's security and safety has been entrenched.

The opposition papers have resumed their active role of being the window of the counter opinion in directing national action.

The reality of popular participation has become a system adopted by the state in tackling Egypt's difficult problems.

The law has become a fence protecting democratic action, and the judiciary's role in highlighting the citizen's role has been bolstered.

2. Clear policies in tackling Egypt's problems--policies founded on seeking the advice of men of opinion and of experts in dealing with the difficult problems, as has happened in tackling the population issue and in the economic conference to deal with the economic problems. Recently, the opinion of the parties has been sought on how to tackle the subsidy issue.

This is in addition to the victories scored in the sphere of Egyptian foreign policy, the most significant fruits of which are resumption of the relations with Jordan, the agreement on a specific strategy to settle the Middle East issue and the other foreign policy victories scored in all spheres.

#### Confrontation with Facts and Respect for Criticism

Hasan Hafiz, chairman of the Local Government Committee and member of the Nile Valley Parliament, said: The politician who defends the free and confronts tyranny is a politician who serves freedom. But the one who serves freedom more is the ruler who opens his heart to the free word. This applies to President Husni Mubarak. His greatest quality is that he does not get annoyed with criticism and does not get angry at an opinion.

Thus, at the outset of his administration, detainees were released in an unprecedented manner and with patience never before encountered by the people under any administration. He started a sincere man and has continued to be a sincere man with his people because he has been honest with himself. He has shunned appearances and has confronted his people with the facts. His people trusted him because he trusted them and this trust has grown internally and been expanded to the outside world. He has been firm in his position without being intransigent and he has been flexible in his opinion but without being indecisive. Thus, he has gained his people's respect and love.

You may find numerous people who enjoy the respect of their people and you may find many who enjoy the love of their citizens. But very rare are the presidents who combine their people's respect and love, and Husni Mubarak is one of the rare ones who gain their people's respect and love at the same time because of his honesty, simplicity and loyalty to his country.

#### Premeditated Plan Without Shocks

Engineer William Najib Sayfayn, the deputy chairman of the People's Assembly Agriculture and Irrigation Committee, said:

President Husni Mubarak's administration is characterized by integrity and purity in all goals and means. This is in addition to its brilliant successes in foreign and domestic policy and to bolstering democracy and giving the counter opinion the opportunity to express itself and participate in action, not in words, and in deeds, not in slogans.

In the sphere of foreign policy, Egypt has opened its arms in love and cooperation. The step of resuming the relations with the fraternal Jordan is perhaps a step on the path, and a downpour begins with a drop.

I have just returned from a scientific and practical mission in France and Canada. In all their cities, I have felt the pulse of love and appreciation for President Mubarak and his magnificent successes and for his firm relations with all countries.

In the sphere of domestic policy, democracy has struck roots that are growing and flourishing day after day. The president's visits to the production sites provide a boost so that all may become aware of the slogan of production and of more production to feed every mouth. As the president has said, he who does not possess his food, does not possess his freedom or his decision.

Internally, Egypt is now moving according to a programmed plan on which the president follows up personally. The results of the first 2 years of the plan indicate the successes scored in achieving the goals.

The president's personality also surfaces clearly in the meetings of the parliamentary body. There is hardly a head of state who is as aware of the details, who knows the individuals with such certainty and who enjoys all the characteristics of such a strong personality--all this in a climate of purity and integrity.

Mahmud 'Inabad, a People's Assembly member, said: My entry into the People's Assembly coincided with President Husni Mubarak's assumption of the presidency. Thus, I started my practical political life under the canopy of Mubarak's principles whose essence is true patriotism, integrity, purity, a strongly frank recognition of the problems and tackling problems democratically in order to find solutions.

The regime's fundamental characteristics include abidance by supremacy of the law and concern for public liberties, including the freedom of partisan activity and propaganda. Moreover, the policy of steering clear off shocks and of approaching and tackling problems calmly and patiently has proven its great success, especially insofar as foreign policy is concerned. This is evident in the Arab relations which have begun to return to their normal conditions on sound bases that are free of emotionalism.

#### Evaluation of Opposition Parties

Cairo AKHIR SA'AH in Arabic No 2609, 24 Oct 84 pp 16-17

[Text] What do the opposition parties say about the years of President Mubarak's administration and what is their opinion of Mubarak's political and economic steps internally and externally? What is their visualization of the next 3 years of Mubarak's administration?

All the Egyptian opposition parties and their leaderships have, through an opinion poll conducted by AKHIR SA'AH, been unanimous that the first 3 years of Mubarak's administration have witnessed effective and influential political and economic events. All the opposition parties have unanimously expressed their appreciation for the step with which President Mubarak launched his administration when he released all those detained because of the September 1981 events and when he stopped the Egyptian propaganda campaigns against the Arab states.

All the parties have lauded the balance restored to Egypt's relations with all countries, considering that the relations with the Soviet Union have been resumed, that Jordan has restored its relations with Egypt, that Egypt has regained its place in the Islamic Conference and its active role in the nonaligned movement and in other international circles and its commitment to all the Arab causes and the Palestinian cause, despite its commitment to the peace accords. Here is what the opposition says about Mubarak's administration:

Dr Wahid Ra'fat, the Wafd Party deputy chairman, has said in his evaluation of the 3 years of President Mubarak's administration:

I still remember President Mubarak's answer to a question by a world news agency upon his assumption of the presidency on whether he would carry on with 'Abd-al-Nasir's policy or al-Sadat's policy. President Mubarak said: My name is Muhammad Husni Mubarak. He was thus asserting that he had his own policy, and he has been completely true in this regard.

President Mubarak has actually proven in the past 3 years that he has his distinguished policy, whether in connection with internal affairs and with the government's and ruling party's relations with the opposition parties in particular, with economic and financial affairs or with Egypt's foreign relations.

Internally, when Mubarak assumed the presidency, most of the opposition politicians and intellectual leaders were in detention.

A few weeks after Mubarak's assumption of the presidency, those politicians were released and he was eager to see to it that they were not released to their homes but to the presidential office where he met with them, consoled them and urged them to forget the past and to act in unity to rebuild the country's structure and to solve its problems.

That exciting and unprecedented meeting in Egypt's modern political history ushered in a new administration eager to return to the ethical values and the democratic methods which had continued to penetrate the procession since the 1952 revolution. The second step on the long path of democracy was President Mubarak's refraining from opposing resumption by the New Wafd Party, the biggest opposition party, of its activity in August 1983, keeping in mind that the party had suspended its activity on 2 June 1978. Mubarak thus confirmed that there is no grudge or misunderstanding between himself and the old or new parties. He also confirmed that he wants a strong and constructive opposition side by side with the National Party. When the judiciary did the Wafd Party and its leader justice, President Mubarak did not hesitate in acknowledging the legal presence and the rights and benefits emanating from the party's return. This is why the party was able to take part in the recent elections and why it succeeded in them. This has qualified the Wafd Party to play the role of the opposition in the People's Assembly.

Dr Wahid Ra'fat added: Another step was taken by Mubarak when he invited all the opposition parties to participate with their opinion in discussing the thorny economic issues, beginning with the subsidy issue. This is another proof of his actual, not verbal, belief in the democratic system.

This belief was also evident in the makeup of the Egyptian delegation to the [U.N.] General Assembly which included for the first time representatives from the most important opposition parties, in addition to the government representatives. Mubarak must also be credited for inviting all the opposition parties to discuss the economic crisis. This call proves that the economic situation has become the president's main concern. There are clear indications of the economic tendency, including the tendency to return to moderation after two radical experiments: the Nasirist experiment of nearly full state control of the economy and of external and domestic trade under the influence of socialist theories that are almost in agreement with Marxism. This policy was embodied in the nationalizations, the custodianship, the decline in the private sector's activity, the inflation of the public sector's size and in the closed-door policy.

The outcome of all this was the country's financial and economic near-bankruptcy.

The second experiment was al-Sadat's experiment, which changed the course and led the country toward new horizons which were, in fact, a return to

many of the capitalist economy's manifestations under the slogan of the open-door economy. To achieve this end, laws and legislation were issued to encourage foreign and Arab capital. But not a small number of people exploited the open-door economic policy to manipulate the laws in order to accumulate the biggest riches in the shortest time. Moreover, the foreign banks preferred to use the capital they accumulated from Egyptians in commercial projects yielding quick profits rather than use it in industrial projects. Those few were also behind the flaws and dangers of the open-door policy which have been exposed by the trials of the Ethics Court.

This is why President Mubarak had to reconsider the open-door policy and why he launched the slogan of the "production open-door policy" and the slogan of "made in Egypt to replace the mad rush for imported goods." Mubarak has been careful to visit factories and production sites to motivate people throughout the country and to transform the slogans he advocates into a tangible reality. This proves that Mubarak has chosen to lead the national economy toward what is better, more suitable and more compatible with our reality and conditions, regardless of the theoretical ideas and creeds found in the bowels of books or to which some leaders of our political parties cling out of a purely ideological starting point and without any regard for reality.

#### Acts, Not Words

Dr Wahid Ra'fat, the deputy chairman of the Wafd Party, has added:

It seems that Mubarak's policy of moderation represents a new pattern in formulating his relations with the east and the west and his eagerness to reunite the Arab states whereas 'Abd-al-Nasir antagonized the United States and the west and rushed so strongly toward the eastern bloc that Egypt almost turned into a "Soviet protectorate." Then al-Sadat came and turned the rudder from east to west after expelling the Soviet experts and abolishing the friendship treaty with the Soviets in 1976. Al-Sadat reflected this change in his famous phrase "the United States holds 99 percent of the cards of the game" to solve the Middle East issue. With the support of the United States, al-Sadat succeeded in actually liberating the Sinai in the wake of the Camp David accords and the peace treaty. But the consequence he had not expected was the boycott of Egypt by all the Arab countries and the transfer of Arab League headquarters to Tunis and freezing Egypt's membership in the League and in the Islamic Conference. When Mubarak came, his first decision was not to respond to the villification heaped on us by the Arab information media of the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front. With Acts, not with words, Mubarak has been able to prove to the Arab countries that the Camp David policy does not at all mean abandonment of Arab causes and that even though Egypt concluded a peace treaty with Israel to liberate its territories in the Sinai, it does not ask anybody to commit itself to this policy or to this treaty. Egypt's position vis-a-vis the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in the summer of 1982, its withdrawal of the Egyptian ambassador in Tel Aviv in protest of this



invasion, Egypt's position toward the PLO and its undertaking to provide protection to Yasir 'Arafat and his comrades upon their withdrawal [from Tripoli], the Egyptian government's position in the United Nations and outside it in defense of Arab causes and Egypt's support for Iraq in the wake of rejection by Khomeyni's regime of all the peace attempts--all this has proven to everybody that Egypt has never abandoned the Arab ranks or its historical responsibility toward the Arab nation.

As expected, the Egyptian policy to bear fruits with Egypt's return to the Islamic Conference, with Egypt's entrenchment in the OAU, with its election to Security Council membership with the support of a large number of countries and, finally, with the resumption of relations with Jordan, which is considered a step in reuniting Arab ranks and in the restoration of relations between Egypt and the other Arab countries.

Thus, the 3 years that have passed on President Mubarak's administration have had a big and tangible impact on developing Egypt's foreign policy not just in terms of Egypt's relations with the Arab countries but also in terms of its relations with other foreign countries, considering that Egypt has resumed full diplomatic representation with the Soviet Union, thus facilitating Egypt's restoration of a more moderate and balanced policy between the east and the west and a policy more compatible with the nonalignment which is considered one of the stable mainstays of Egypt's foreign policy.

#### We Cooperate With Mubarak

Fu'ad Nashi, the Labor Party's information rapporteur, has said in assessing the 3 years of President Mubarak's administration:

President Mubarak began his administration by releasing the detained opposition leaders. This was the first step to eliminate the traces of the September 1981 measures. He also abolished two of the ill-reputed special laws, namely Law No 34 of 1972 concerning protection of national unity and presidential decree No 2 of 1977. Mubarak should be credited for inviting the opposition parties to discuss Egypt's fateful economic issues, such as the subsidy issue, especially since President Mubarak has inherited a heavy legacy as a result of the open-door policy that did not take Egypt's circumstances into consideration. Nobody denies that efforts are being made to solve the economic problem. All we hope for is that the problem will not be solved by raising the prices after eliminating the subsidy for food supplies and preserved foods. The study on subsidy we will prepare in the Socialist Labor Party at the request of President Mubarak will perhaps demonstrate that the ideal solution lies in squeezing government spending, preventing tax and customs evasion and strengthening control on foreign banks insofar as exporting foreign currencies is concerned.

Therefore, we will cooperate with President Mubarak in solving the economic crisis within bounds whereby the ordinary citizen and the people

with limited income will not be harmed by increasing the prices of any main commodity.

Fu'ad Nashi added: In the fourth year of Mubarak's administration, we hope that the remaining laws obstructing the march of democracy will be abolished. We also hope that the parties law will be amended so as to permit other political currents to form parties that represent them and that perform their legitimate role within a framework of freedom and democracy.

At the external level, the Labor Party notes with appreciation President Mubarak's refusal to visit Israel throughout these 3 years. He must be also lauded for ending the propaganda campaigns against the Arab brothers. We hope that the Egyptian government will exert concerted efforts to end the differences with the Arab states, especially since the appreciation we have witnessed for resumption of Egyptian-Jordanian relations encourages the state to embark on other initiatives to settle the differences with the other Arab states. Moreover, Egypt's return to the Islamic Conference is a positive step in enabling Egypt to perform its role at the Islamic level. We hope that a similar step will be made in connection with the Arab League so that Egypt may return to its pioneer position in the League.

#### Years of Stability and Accomplishment

In the Liberal Party, Mustafa Kamil Murad, the party chairman, offers his assessment of 3 years of Mubarak's administration, saying:

There is no doubt that the first 3 years of President Mubarak's administration have abounded with momentous events and with political, economic, social and military developments which will have a major impact on Egypt's future and on its foreign relations, especially with the Arab and African world, with the nonaligned states and with the two superpowers.

Enumerating the foreign accomplishments of Mubarak's administration, Mustafa Kamil Murad said:

The relations with the Soviet Union have been restored to their normal level and ambassadors have been exchanged. This is a great success and the credit goes to Mubarak. The Soviet Union is one of the two superpowers and it is in Egypt's interest to have with it normal relations unblemished by frigidity or alienation. As a result of the restoration of these relations, the foreign trade volume with the Soviet Union has increased and we are now exporting to the Soviets numerous Egyptian commodities and importing from them some goods that are necessary for Egypt's economic growth.

This is in addition to the possibility of our acquiring spare parts for the Soviet weapons and to whatever grants, loans and credit facilities we may get.

At the same level, the years of Mubarak's administration have, according to Mustafa Kamil Murad, witnessed accomplishments in Egypt's relations with its sisterly Arab countries. As a result of this policy, we have resumed our diplomatic relations with Jordan. This is an important step on the path of reuniting Arab ranks. We hope that Iraq will follow. Added to this is what the president has accomplished in connection with the integration of the two parts of the Nile Valley in Egypt and Sudan--an integration that has produced economic, political and strategic benefits for both Egypt and Sudan. Egypt has also regained its normal and influential leadership role as one of the founders of the nonaligned movement. President Mubarak has made several successful trips to India and Yugoslavia. Egypt has also restored its active role in the OAU and it is again performing the role of influential and effective mediator in pacifying the tension in Chad and the tension between Sudan and Ethiopia. The relations with China have also been bolstered, considering that it is one of the world's major powers. This will have its impact on the two countries' mutual interests. As a result of Mubarak's policy and his great accomplishments at the foreign level, Egypt has gained membership to the Security Council and is enjoying extensive international trust which has been reflected in its unanimous election to the membership of the Security Council.

Regarding the party's assessment of the first 3 years of Mubarak's administration at the domestic level, Mustafa Kamil Murad, the Liberal Party chairman, said:

Despite the grave consequences generated by the assassination of leader Anwar al-Sadat, Mubarak has been able to achieve numerous domestic accomplishments in all spheres. Democracy has gained great prominence and its features have been reflected in the political parties' exercise of their democratic activity at a much broader scale than in the days of al-Sadat. The confiscated opposition papers have been restored and the political detainees have been released. The president began [his administration] with a series of meeting with the chairman of the political parties, consulting with them on the important issues, expressing respect for the opposition's rights and considering it a part of the system of government representing the other side. My proof in this regard is the president's meeting with the political parties' chairmen last month and his impressing on them the need to hold a conference comprising all the political parties, both ruling and opposition parties, to discuss and exchange views on the important political issues. There is no doubt that this is a significant step on the path of democracy. Egypt has also begun to experience growing economic activity in the private sector, in addition to the public sector's activity. Despite the difficult circumstances that have engulfed the country, the open-door policy is still moving forward as it has been in the past and numerous investors are interested in investing in Egypt. The tourism situation has begun to improve considerably and the government has begun to establish currency, financial and tax policies compatible with the open-door policy.

The government has also begun to streamline the subsidy. The deficit in the balance of payments and in the state's general budget has begun to

drop, and this heralds a drop in the inflation rate in Egypt. Moreover, the government has begun to establish a reasonable wages policy. This has led to an awareness of the climate of political, economic and social stability in Egypt at the end of the first 3 years of President Mubarak's administration.

#### Mubarak Is Very Much Different

Lutfi Wakid, the secretary of the National [Progressive Unionist] Grouping's Central Committee, has asserted that the party is not against Mubarak's administration, saying:

Even though we took at the outset a stance of opposition to the election of President Mubarak at the beginning of his administration, this opposition was not aimed against or an objection to President Mubarak himself. Rather, our opposition came about because President Mubarak stressed in his first speech continuation of al-Sadat's policy which we had opposed when al-Sadat was alive. But when Mubarak was elected and declared his own policy in the speech he delivered to the People's Assembly, our party issued a statement declaring that we agree with him in part and parcel on many points. We only disagreed with him on his visualization of how to deal with Israel.

We acknowledge that President Mubarak differs completely in his personality, his tendencies, his approach and his rule from what preceded him. But we continue to have observations concerning our party and our political visualization.

We acknowledge for Mubarak his endeavor to confront the parasitic capitalism which flourished in the open-door policy period. However, the state is still determined to persist in implementing the open-door economic policy. We also laud President Mubarak's democratic tendencies, which have been reflected in his meeting with the opposition leaders and his refraining from harassing the opposition's press or activity within the legitimate framework. But the 1984 elections have proven the need to separate the government from the party.

Despite the difference in Mubarak's Arab tendencies, reflected in the level of normalization of relations with Israel, in Mubarak's rapprochement with the Arab countries and in his receiving Yasir 'Arafat, the PLO chairman, our reservation as a party focuses on the presence of the Camp David accords and their influence on Egypt's Arab and international relations.

We also support President Mubarak's adoption of the policy of returning to the nonaligned countries, his endeavor to highlight the independent Egyptian position, his refusal to have U.S. bases established in Egypt and his restoration of relations with the Soviet Union to their normal situation.

Insofar as the future of President Mubarak's administration is concerned, we believe that the high dam which Mubarak can build is the entrenchment of greater democracy in Egypt, in addition to succeeding in the planning policy we have started in order to achieve an independent natural development that depends on the people-owned public sector and on the productive private sector, along with establishing social justice without which there will be no real stability and no meaning.

#### Policy That is Difficult To Criticize

Even though the future Party has not gotten a license from the Parties Committee to launch its political activity and movement, this does not negate the presence of a current supporting this party and considering Dr Faraj Fudah, the representative [wakil] of the party founders, one of the opposition leaders emerging in the political arena after his disagreement with the Wafd. Of his and his current's visualization of the first 3 years of Mubarak's administration, Dr Fudah has said:

Even though it is difficult to evaluate the preceding period of Mubarak's administration, because the true evaluation begins with the new parliamentary assembly, this does not preclude observing Mubarak's tendencies along three axes:

First, the domestic policy axis: On this axis, the political arena has witnessed a greater degree of political openness embodied in offering the opposition a healthy climate, in the reconciliation between President Mubarak and the opposition leaders and in broader participation by the opposition in political life--a participation which has taken a positive form through the parties' participation in discussing the economic issues and the subsidy issue and the form of President Mubarak's constant meetings with the opposition leaders. We, as new parties, feel that the climate in Egypt is experiencing now real democratic relaxation. We no longer hear of confiscation of the opposition papers or attacks by the presidency on an opposition current. It is also obvious that there is some sort of elimination of the special measures adopted at the end of the previous period--elimination embodied in the release of the detainees.

The second axis, namely the foreign policy axis: All agree that President Mubarak has taken strongly positive steps in this regard--steps embodied in abidance by the international charters on the one hand and adherence to the country's right and to defending the country against whatever may undermine its sovereignty and security on the other hand, along with efforts to establish a balance in the foreign policy at the international and Arab levels. It is, therefore, difficult from our viewpoint to criticize such a policy.

The third axis, namely the economic axis: Our viewpoint underlines the danger of increasing the influence of the control agencies and the role of the socialist prosecutor in cases that have often ended with a not-guilty verdict or a sense of not being guilty in the eyes of a large segment of

public opinion. As a result of this increased influence, some Egyptian capital has fled the country, numerous investors have backed down, the Egyptian pound's price has declined and a number of important decisions have been repealed. We are waiting for a decision providing for freedom in dealing in foreign currency because such a decision will double the national revenues from tourism and from the remittances of Egyptians abroad, provided that such free transactions be confined to the Egyptian official banks only.

In the next few years, we expect that the political map of Egypt will be redrawn in light of the emergence of new parties with real popularity. The new parties will reflect the emergence of clear political currents, such as the liberal current, the centrist left and the religious current, especially since the currently existing parties are mere facades and not real parties or intellectual currents. In the coming years, Egypt will also return to the Arab ranks and Israel will withdraw from Lebanon.

#### Sensible Democratic Steps

Yasin Siraj-al-Din, a People's Assembly member representing the Wafd Party against whom a decision was issued recently dismissing him from this party, said:

President Mubarak's administration began with a reassuring indication of its democratic tendency with the release of the political detainees at the time. Then other accomplishments followed, the most important being the president's continued encouragement of increased production, his lifting the hardship from the people's shoulders and his striking corruption everywhere, whether in the public sector or in the private sector.

The procession marked forward and has been crowned with several democratic and national decisions, such as the selection of the Egyptian official delegation to the United Nations and the inclusion of popular diplomacy in this delegation. This has been done for the first time in Egypt and has had a major impact in Arab and international circles.

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NEW TITHE HEAD DESCRIBES ELIMINATION OF CONVENTIONAL TAXES

London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 29 Oct 84 p 13

[Interview with Sa'id Yahya, Secretary General of Zakat and Taxation Chamber, by 'Adil Salahi: "The Tithe Has Eliminated 20 Types of Tax; Non-Moslems Pay Social Solidarity Tax"]

[Text] The tithe is the second pillar of Islam. It is an obligation on every Moslem whose income reaches the stipulated level and who has become affluent. Islamic legislation in the Sudan has become extremely concerned with the objectives of the tithe and its effect on the government and the citizen, since it has come to have an obvious impact on the life of Sudanese citizens. AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT had this interview concerning the features of the law on the tithe and taxes and its economic effect on citizens, government and Sudanese expatriates with Sa'id Yahya, secretary general of the Sudanese Tax and Zakat Chamber:

[Question] Could you give us an idea about the purpose behind the law on the tithe and its effect on the tax system in the Sudan?

[Answer] The first purpose behind the law on the tithe and taxes is to establish one of the pillars of Islam, which is the religious obligation of the tithe. This law eliminated 20 taxes which prevailed until 1984, because some of them have become worn out and need comprehensive review, in order to keep abreast of the requirements of the age and the government's orientation toward God's law. The law on the tithe and taxes in the Sudan has spelled out the Zakat and Taxation Chamber's tasks of estimating, collecting and spending tithe money, so that it may be distributed in accordance with the stipulations Islamic law has made. This law has been characterized by decentralization, since the chamber is part of the central administration and the branch administrations in the national capital and the regions of the Sudan. This involves carrying out the directives from the prophet, on whom be God's prayers and peace, to our master Mu'adh ibn Jabal: "Teach them that God has imposed on them alms which are taken from the rich people in their midst and devolve upon the poor in their midst."

[Question] Does that mean applying a special system for paying out the tithe which is different from the ordinary tax system?

[Answer] The law stipulates that the receipts from the tithe and the tax are to be spent in the region in which they are collected. This entails applying the statement of the prophet, on whom be God's prayers and peace, referred to above. The law has delegated the rulers of the regions to carry out the provisions in it and adopt all measures and policies to guarantee that the application is accurate and sound, in view of the good it entails for the region and the Sudanese nation. The law has also stipulated that the tithe is to be paid out in the areas stipulated by the holy verse "The alms are for the poor and needy, those who work to collect them, those whose hearts are brought together, the ransoming of slaves, debtors, in God's way and the traveller."

The Zakat Chamber has been split off from the Ministry of Finance, which is proof of the government's seriousness in spending tith money in the areas where it is collected, as stipulated by Islamic law. It also entails the satisfaction of the people who pay the tithe themselves. In addition, the law stipulates that the Council to Rule on Islamic Law will take charge of giving rulings regarding everything related to the application of the law and the provisions of Islamic law, and its rulings will be binding.

[Question] The tithe is a religious obligation on Moslems, while the abrogated taxes were general, comprising non-Moslems as well. What is the situation now with respect to non-Moslems?

[Answer] The law has stipulated that the tithe is obligatory for all Moslems in the Sudan. It has also stipulated that non-Moslems will pay the social solidarity tax, which is at the same rate as the tithe imposed on Moslems. In regard to this, there has been a sense from the man in the street that non-Moslems should not be bound to payment of the tithe, which is a pillar of Islam and that there is justice in having the tithe be equal to the tax, and a lack of discrimination among citizens of the single country. The law stipulates that a development and investment tax be imposed on profits from capital, when need be, and it imposes a stamp tax, which entails affirmation of the statement by the prophet, on whom be God's prayers and peace, "There are rights to money as with the tithe."

[Question] Is it considered that the financial burden imposed on the Sudanese citizen has been reduced as a result of the new law?

[Answer] This law has alleviated the burden on people who paid tax to the government and paid the tithe on their money to some people who were entitled to it. It has subjected the original sources of Sudanese wealth to the tithe, and has called on people to revive the sources of their wealth, from agriculture and stock farming, and the religious obligation of the tithe or tax on plundered money by which one has been enriched is prohibited. It has made it obligatory to confiscate this money on behalf of the Zakat and Taxation Chamber. This law has also prohibited the imposition of a tithe or tax on public money and the money of religious trusts and alms, and the law has permitted the investment of tithe and alms funds in legitimate fashion.



[Question] What, in your estimation, is the economic effect of the law on the tithe on the citizen and the government?

[Answer] The prophet of God, on whom be God's prayers and peace, said, "Trade in the money of orphans so that the tithe will not erode it." This prophetic tradition entails obvious proof of the need to invest idle money and not to hoard it. In another area, the people entitled to the tithe are indigent people and those with limited incomes, who have the greatest propensity to consume. Giving the tithe to them will result in increasing demand or increasing buying power, which will dictate increasing the supply of goods and services. This is encouragement of investment in order to construct factories to meet consumers' demand for consumer and investment goods. It will also lead to an increase in labor, an increase in production and the fighting of unemployment, since the tax or tithe is just 2 and a half percent of production.

The low rate of the tithe, which, as you know, is 2.5 percent, might not be considered a factor helping to reduce the prices of commodities, since it is well known that producers shift the burden of the tax to the consumer to the extent of the tax imposed on their products. In comparing the rate of the tithe with the rate of the tax which was levied in accordance with the income tax law and came to 70 percent, we find that the tithe, in this percentage, will be an incentive for work and will reduce migration outside the Sudan, with God's permission. As regards individuals, the person should either pay the tithe or take his due in it.

[Question] Is the law on the tithe applied to Sudanese expatriates?

[Answer] The previous law remained in effect until 26 September 1984, which means that the payment of expatriates' taxes remained in accordance with the old law until the payment of all commitments due for a period of just 9 months for 1984 was completed, and it became obligatory to pay the tax [sic] as of October 1984.

Starting 26 September and out, the law on the tithe and tax was imposed on incomes realized during the lunar year, from Muharram to Dhu al-Hijjah, on the basis of the actual income, until it reaches the share, at a rate of just 2.5 percent. The tithe will be deducted from the salaries of government employees after deduction of the sum of 2,400 Sudanese pounds per year, that is, 200 Sudanese pounds per month, for the basic requirements of the taxpayer, then the collection of the tithe or tax from the rest, if it reaches the share, which is 1,860 pounds per year, the equivalent of 115 Sudanese pounds per month. The tithe and tax include salary, all raises and allowances, and all the cash benefits which are given to the employees; excluded from this income are deductions for commitments of the person going on retirement and insurance funds for allocations for post-service benefits.

# INTERNAL FLIGHT FROM DROUGHT DESCRIBED

London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 2 Nov 84 p 6

[Article by Muhammad Ahmad Hisham: "The Season of the Rush to the Nile Has Started in the Sudan: Drought Results in the Migration of Millions from Kordofan and Darfur"]

[Text] The Sudan has experienced the movement of refugees for more than 2 decades, since the migrations of thousands of refugees from Zaire and Uganda, then Eritrea and finally Chad poured into it. However, this year, with the intensification of the wave of drought which has afflicted the regions of Kordofan and Darfur in the western Sudan, the Sudan has started to witness a new era of waves of people moving on toward the Nile, in flight from famine and drought. The Nile has also started to be affected by this drought, since its input this year has recorded a drop which it had not experienced since the start of this century. In the following investigation, we will try to learn the dimensions of this human tragedy by observing the movements of migrants, their settlement trends, the manner for coping with their new life, the efforts exerted to alleviate the suffering among the people who were harmed, and the anticipated effects of that.

## The Move toward the Nile

For more than 3 years, AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT, through news, reports and investigations, has constantly monitored the developments in the encroachment of the Sahara and the repercussion of the wave of drought on the western Sudan, where millions of inhabitants in the northern region have been affected by it and have begun to travel to the south, in hopes of water and pasture for themselves and their animals, since these areas are inhabited by nomadic Arabs and farmers who rely totally on rain for their livelihood. However, the second half of this year, when the wave of drought intensified, after the Darfur Region was declared a natural disaster area in May, then efforts were mobilized on the part of the people and officials in order to ward off the dangers of drought by offering urgent aid in the form of foodstuffs, especially sorghum, the main food for the majority of the people, the continuation of the drought and aridity brought fear into the spirits of many people and caravans of large numbers of people started to head east toward the Nile, especially from the Region of Kordofan, reaching a terrifying

volume in the past 2 months. Thousands of these people reached the area of al-Duwaym and surrounding villages in the White Nile Province, to the south up to Kusti and to the north up to Omdurman Province. Many of these people settled in the vicinity of the city and the villages near it and built houses which did not protect them from the fluctuations of the weather.

### Collective Migration

They advanced in groups representing families, clans, indeed whole villages in the areas around Kordofan, whose inhabitants abandoned them and moved east. Some of them arrived on foot and others boarded vehicles which traversed the region, bringing their light belongings. They advanced toward a new unknown, selling the livestock left to them at low prices out of fear that drought would claim them. They abandoned pasturing and farming, which was no longer possible following the shortage of rain, in search of sources of a livelihood in the areas around the towns, in order to meet a livelihood and survive in sufficiency. For them, the future has become the continuation of life and flight from one hell to another.

The people who reached the outskirts of the city of Omdurman have settled down in the region of al-Mubah, the al-Jamu'iyah project and the villages of al-'Amarab, al-Jabirah and Shaykh Abu Zayd, as far as Abu Sa'd 'Ali, a short distance from the city of Omdurman. Official bodies have estimated the number from the Kordofan area at about 70,000. Incidences of mortality among them on their trip east came to 70 persons besides livestock. Other people crossed the White Nile to the area of al-Jazirah al-Khadra' in the Central Region. These were more fortunate, since some people who are originally from the Kordofan and Darfur Regions are used to emigrating to the al-Jazirah area during the cotton picking season. However, this time the migration did not just comprise workers but involved families, clans and whole units whose numbers in the al-Jazirah area and the towns and villages of the Central Region surrounding it, such as Kusti, al-Duwaym, and so forth, official bodies have estimated at about 250,000 persons. It is expected that this number of people coming into the region will double in the cotton gathering season.

In the past 2 months, after the real dimensions of this problem started to become apparent, the interest of people and officials to learn about the conditions of the persons affected, offer aid to the people damaged and mobilize the efforts of people, officials and foreign and international aid escalated. The first movement in this direction was to review the agricultural plan in the country and orient it toward the provision of food by producing additional quantities of sorghum. In the al-Jazirah and al-Manaqil project, where 1,142,000 feddans were cultivated, the area of the land cultivated with sorghum rose to 420,000 feddans, an increase of 120,000 feddans over the previous acreage, in addition to 130,000 feddans and fava beans out of the yield of 300,000 feddans which were farmed this season in the al-Rahad agricultural project. In the New Halfa agricultural project in the Eastern Region, 69,000 out of a total of 193,000 feddans which were farmed this season were cultivated with sorghum.

In the Province of Khartoum, the people of the Kordofan Region held an enlarged meeting to study the effects resulting from the drought and to offer

urgent aid to the people harmed. About 600,000 sacks of sorghum were allocated in urgent aid to people who had emigrated, immediate donations totalling 20,000 pounds were collected and branch followup committees were formed.

In the capital of the Central Region, Madani, meetings were held at a high level with the participation of officials in the World Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) office with the goal of ascertaining the magnitude of the problem and offering urgent assistance. Emergency teams were drawn up to cope with the health and environmental situation among the people who had come in, and agreement was reached with FAO to prepare an urgent plan for aid to the Central Region.

#### Organizing Aid

In the Eastern Region, the need basically to increase food subsidies is rising because of the large numbers of Ethiopian and Eritrean refugees, in addition to the Sudanese people newly coming in who have been affected by drought in the region. Camps have been organized to provide them with shelter in the areas of Dardib, Hayya and Tahajjum.

In the nationwide context, the first vice president of the Sudan and the chairman of the State Security Agency have held a number of meetings with local officials and representatives of international bodies to tabulate the aid and assistance the people affected by drought in the Sudan need. FAO had declared its commitment in principle to contribute support for the Regions of Kordofan and Darfur in order to meet the needs of the people affected by the drought by providing the inhabitants of the region with about 5,000 tons of sorghum, that is, the equivalent of 55,000 sacks per month, for the period of a year. The American aid program has also agreed to help Kordofan and Darfur with about 82,000 tons of sorghum (200,000 sacks), the Chinese government has volunteered 10,000 tons (120,000 sacks of sorghum) for the two regions, and the International Assistance Program has given agreement in principle to provide 20,000 tons of sorghum to the two regions.

#### The Drop in the Intake of the Rivers

With the continuation of the wave of drought and the increase in the rate of people coming into the Central Region, the towns of other regions and Khartoum Province, official estimates indicate that the volume of people coming into the Central Region could come to more than 1 million by the end of the year, requiring about 150,000 tons of sorghum to sustain them for a period of a year. The anticipated production of sorghum farming areas this year has been estimated at about 5.1 million sacks. However, until the season's sorghum production is tabulated, it appears that there will be a pressing need to provide emergency assistance. This has prompted the official bodies to renew the appeal to volunteer and international organizations to eliminate the condition before a famine which kills many people occurs.

Would that the situation was restricted to the phenomenon of regional drought. However, the scant rainfall has led to a drop in Nile River intake, especially in the case of the Blue Nile, whose intake is less than the average for past years. This is considered to be the second occurrence in the

history of this river. The first was in 1913. This also applies to the 'Atbarah River, which has witnessed the worst level since observation of it began in 1902. The intake of the Blue Nile came in 1913 to 2 billion, while its annual intake in the flood period is 49 billion cubic meters and in the period of scant rainfall 6 billion, rising sometimes to 12 billion. The deficit which it is expected will occur in the period of scant rainfall this year will be on the average about 47 billion. In the light of these circumstances, after a meeting the Sudanese minister of irrigation, Eng Sughayyarun al-Zayn, held with Maj Gen 'Umar Muhammad al-Tayyib, the first deputy prime minister of the Sudan, it was decided that wheat would not be planted in the al-Jazirah, al-Manaqil and New Halfa projects this season. It was also decided that withdrawals from the water in storage in the country's reservoirs would begin early this year relative to past years, in order to meet the agricultural projects' need for irrigation water.

#### Additional Burdens

In spite of the economic problems and problems of drought which have started to appear on the surface, the Sudan has not taken any position against immigration from adjacent countries.

There are more than five countries from which migrants are constantly flowing toward Sudanese territory. In the past few weeks alone more than 40,000 refugees from Chad came to the Nyala area in the western Sudan, while in the southern areas of the country waves of Ugandan refugees crossing the Kajo Kaji area are coming in a constant fashion estimated at from 75 to 120 a day. The government with the aid of the office of the commissioner of refugees has prepared subsistence camps for them. In a single month, the number of refugees to this area alone came to more than 1,500. This is the number counted in the camp; numbers of people who were not included in the count have poured into the country, toward the capital and the regions. In addition to that, the Eastern Region is suffering from an influx of large numbers of Ethiopians and Eritreans. The number of refugees tabulated in the camps came to more than 20,000 in the past months. Under the burden of the constant suffering from this struggle which is accompanying the domestic problems in the country, the Sudan is turning toward international organizations to help eliminate the suffering caused by these people who are coming to the country.

Mr 'Ali Yass Ibrahim, minister of internal affairs and chairman of the Sudan's delegation to the meetings of the 35th session of the Executive Committee of the program of the high commissioner for refugees held recently in Geneva, met the high commissioner for refugees in Geneva and his assistants.

In the wake of this, the executive committee of the commissioner's office, in its meetings, discussed all the subjects included in its agenda, primarily the 1985 budget which approved a budget of \$39,634,400 for the Sudan for refugee projects in the Eastern Region and the Equatorial Region. This budget exceeds that for last year by \$5 million.

In the second half of October, a delegation from the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugee Affairs in Geneva made field visits to the areas of

settlement of refugees in the Eastern and Equatorial Regions. Discussions were held regarding the agreement bearing on the improvement of water resources in the refugee camps in the Eastern Region. The delegation observed measures which had been taken, embodied in the establishment of three camps for the region to absorb increasing numbers of Ethiopian refugees who had come to the country because of security conditions and drought. It also was decided that a program would be set out for emergencies which would be able to absorb 20,000 additional refugees in four presently existing camps as a temporary measure, until the government of the Eastern Region becomes able to allocate suitable places for housing them. In addition, in coordination with the government of the Darfur Region, a program will be carried out to offer aid involving refugees from Chad who recently came to the country. The delegation, in the company of the commissioner of refugees in Khartoum, headed for Juba, where it learned about the conditions of Ugandan refugees in the Equatorial Region.

Perhaps it is plain to imagine the number of problems which accompany this sort of internal and external flow on the country's meager resources in fluctuating climatic conditions. The problem of food supply might be one of the main concerns of the local and central authorities. However, many distinctive characteristics will remain that will arise from the aggravation of this problem if urgent and long range plans are not set out to absorb its effects and realize solutions to problems which are embodied in housing, the creation of job opportunities, anticipated pressures on the health, environment, treatment, communications and education sectors and anticipated strain on sources of sustenance and special services in the rural areas, and in terms of their repercussions on the security situation at its various levels.

In the context of this data, the official bodies in the Sudan, with the confluence of foreign volunteer aid from officials, people and international areas, expect that much remains to be done in order to achieve humane conditions for those people whom harsh natural conditions have driven and forced to share their fortune with others and divide up their sustenance, land and dreams of life with them.

11887

CSO: 4504/85

## UNION CHIEF DISCUSSES UNEMPLOYMENT AMONG ENGINEERS

London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 22 Oct 84 p 19

[Article: "Leader of Jordanian Engineers' Union Tells AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT: Unemployment Is a Threat to Jordanian Engineers; the Union Is Taking Measures To Avert the Approaching Danger"]

[Text] Amman--The worldwide economic stagnation has cast its shadow on some Arab countries where it has taken the form of stagnation in the local market or increasing unemployment rates.

In Jordan one of the most notable professions to be affected by unemployment is engineering.

In tables released by the Union of Jordanian Engineers we find that until the end of September 1982, 4,600 engineers in various fields of specialization were working in the local market. This constituted 52.3 percent of the 7,512 engineers who belonged to the union as of the same date.

This number does not include 4,600 engineers in the West Bank, or the 7,512 engineers currently studying in Jordanian, Arab and foreign universities, who are expected to graduate in the next few years.

When AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT asked engineer Ibrahim Abu 'Ayyash, leader of the Union of Jordanian Engineers and president of the Association of Arab Engineers, about this situation, he replied that the problem of unemployment among engineers, which did not exist before late 1982, could not be considered a matter separate from the total unemployment picture in general. The period between 1977 and 1982 saw the highest rates of economic growth in the region, and economic activity in Jordan and the surrounding countries reached its peak. With the beginning of the second year of the war between Iraq and Iran in 1981 and the increasing pessimism about any early solution to it, and the success of the oil consuming countries in lowering their consumption and increasing their reserve stockpiles and consequently increasing their ability to determine prices, by the second half of 1981 and throughout 1982 the region began a phase of gradual but perceptible economic decline.

Abu 'Ayyash said that a study prepared 20 months ago, entitled "Engineers Working in Jordan" pointed out that it was assumed that the Jordanian market would

remain able to absorb 52.3 percent of the engineers who joined the union annually. The number of engineers expected to be absorbed into the local market up to 1988 will amount to approximately 9,090 out of 11,890 who are expected to graduate by 1988, assuming that the growth rate will gradually decrease by 2 percent annually from the base year in which about 11,980 engineers were absorbed.

According to figures contained in a report real growth will actually exceed expected limits, and by a not inconsiderable rate. Therefore, fears of real unemployment and its anticipated negative effects on all of those working in the field of engineering and on the fabric of society are considered legitimate and justifiable. By the end of 1984, 2,457 engineers in various areas of specialization are expected to be affected by unemployment, both concealed and open.

Abu 'Ayyash believes that the rate of unemployment expected during the period from 1985 to 1990 depends on several factors, among them the following: whether or not the state of economic stagnation in the local market and in the markets of the neighboring countries continues; and whether or not real protection from foreign companies is provided for local companies and organizations.

[Other important factors are the following]: whether the local companies and organizations will remain confined to the local market, never penetrating foreign markets; whether priority in hiring is given to Arab rather than foreign engineers in the markets of neighboring countries. Finally, educational policy should be to prepare graduates with skills which match the development needs in the local market and the markets of neighboring countries.

The leader of the Union of Jordanian Engineers said that at the top of the union's agenda is the need to gather scattered information on the subject of engineers and unemployment in the desire to provide the union with data about projects and matters relating to the employment of engineers. The union will also maintain a register of unemployed engineers, set up a special fund for assisting colleagues who are in need, and follow up on foreign companies working in Jordan to make sure that they employ at least a minimum number of Jordanian engineers. It will also coordinate with the Jordanian Contractors' Union in all matters that involve engineering work. The union will also participate in the meetings of the government steering committee on the construction industry. It will work through this committee to introduce certain amendments to laws and regulations to allow the creation of more opportunities for work for more Jordanian engineers.

9123

CSO: 4404/48



JORDAN

BRIEFS

WEST BANK AFFAIRS COMMITTEE--Deputy Dawud Sulayman of Jerusalem was reelected chairman of the West Bank Affairs Committee in the Chamber of Deputies. He was also elected as a member of the chamber's foreign affairs committee.  
[Text] [Jerusalem AL-QUDS in Arabic 6 Oct 84 p 3] 9123

CSO: 4404/48

## SHARP DROP IN MANUFACTURED EXPORTS REPORTED

Beirut AL-NAHAR in Arabic 6 Aug 84 p 7

[Article by Michel Murqus: "Value of Manufactured Exports Has Fallen to 1975 Level"]

[Text] The value of Lebanese manufactured exports in the first 6 months of this year amounted to 416,330,000 Lebanese pounds, according to the certificates of origin issued by the General Directorate of Industry, with these exports amounting to one-half the value of the exports in the corresponding period of last year and one-third the value of the exports in the corresponding period in 1982.

In figures, the manufactured exports began to decline as of 1982. In the first half of that year, the value of these exports amounted to 1,251,287,000 Lebanese pounds and in the first half of 1983, the value amounted to 778,077,000 pounds, with the decline rate thus amounting to 66.7 percent in comparison with 1982 and 46.5 percent in comparison with 1983. The causes are both internal and external.

The internal causes have become well known, namely the troubled conditions since the Israeli invasion more than 2 years ago, the mountain war and the [southern] suburb war which had an impact on the economic conditions generally and on industrial conditions in particular.

These successive wars and the rounds of violence and climate of fear and caution accompanying them damaged a large number of factories in al-Shuwayfat and al-Mukallas areas, as well as the factories in the north damaged during the battles between the Palestinians. As a result of these wars, the various parts of the country have been cut off from each other, the industrial areas have lost contact with each other and it has become impossible to transport goods in the wake of closure of the main crossing points and highways.

This has been accompanied by the closure of Beirut port and airport. The industrial conditions have been worsened further by the intensifying smuggling of goods and the illegal introduction of these goods into the Lebanese markets to compete with the local product.

The deterioration in the economic conditions has been reflected on bank loans advanced to the industrial sector, with the value of these loans dropping from 17 percent to 15 percent of the total value of the loans advanced to the national economy. In the first half of this year, the banks acted cautiously

and froze their lending activities, thus contributing to worsening the financial conditions of the industrial establishments and closing in their face the doors to their marketing their production locally and externally.

As for the external causes, most of them are embodied in the consequences of the Israeli occupation of parts of Lebanon, considering that the Arab countries have become reluctant to deal with Lebanese manufactured exports for fear that Israeli goods or goods entering the Lebanese markets through smuggling would enter into their territories. Syria, Saudi Arabia and other countries have taken toward the Lebanese manufactured goods a negative position that has somewhat curtailed the export possibilities despite the efforts exerted by the Lebanese officials to facilitate export activities.

It has also been natural that the Lebanese industrialists could not commit themselves to specific schedules for the delivery of their goods to their representatives abroad under these unsuitable circumstances.

Moreover, the Lebanese manufactured exports have lost since 1982 the important market of Iraq. The value of the manufactured goods exported to this market in the first half of 1982 amounted to 503,060,000 Lebanese pounds, i.e. a little more than the total value of the exports in the first half of this year. The value of the exports to this market then declined to 74.3 million pounds in the first half of 1983, i.e. to nearly three times the value of manufactured goods exported to Iraq in the first half of this year.

The reason for the drop in the manufactured goods exported to Iraq is the Gulf war which, in its turn, has affected the Arab Gulf states, coinciding with a drop in crude oil production and exportation and in its prices. This has curtailed the economic capabilities of these states as a result of their financial commitments to Iraq in its war with Iran and their commitments to non-oil countries.

All these conditions have caused manufactured exports to drop to 416 million pounds in 6 months, i.e. to their level in 1977 when their value amounted throughout the year to 836 million pounds. If we take the inflation factor into consideration, we find that this sum is much smaller than it sounds and that the exports have fallen to what they were 10 years ago when their value amounted to 320 million pounds in 1975. This is a sufficient indication of the deterioration of the industrial conditions in our country.

#### 1. Type of Production

As a result of the drop in the value of the manufactured exports, the exports of all kinds have dropped below their level of a year ago.

Exports of various kinds of clothing topped the list in value, amounting to 8.2 percent of the total, valued at 33.8 million Lebanese pounds. Despite these figures, this type of exports amounted to 51.7 percent [of their value in 1983]. Next on the list were the non-mineral mine products, amounting to 8 percent of the total and valued at 33.4 million pounds in value, with a drop of 60.6 percent. The value of the manufactured metal goods exported amounted to

33.1 million pounds or 7.9 percent of the total, with a decline of 64.6 percent. Rug and home furnishings exports rose by 96.1 percent, amounting to 23.2 million pounds and constituting 5.6 percent of the total. The value of the chemical products exported amounted to 21.6 million pounds, falling by 51 percent. The value of aluminum products exported amounted to 20.7 million pounds, forming 4.9 percent of the total and declining by 60.3 percent. The value of the exports in foodstuffs, medical products, industrial machines and mixers amounted to 18.9 million, 19.1 million and 19.1 million pounds successively, with each forming 4.6 percent of the total and with the first declining by 42.7 percent, the second by 5.6 percent and the third by 62 percent.

The biggest drop, amounting to 72 percent, was suffered in black cement exports, which came to a halt when Syria stopped importing this product and when the Iraqi market was closed. Shoe exports dropped by 71.8 percent.

This drop in the various types of production has come as a noticeable drop in the imports of the countries of destination.

## 2. Countries of Destination

The Saudi market has continued to be the main market for Lebanese manufactured exports despite the obstacles that have developed in the wake of closure of the Saudi consulate as a result of the incidents which took place on the 6th of last March. The value of the exports to the kingdom amounted to 278,782,000 Lebanese pounds compared to 474.4 million in 1983 and 340.4 million in 1982. The drop amounted to 41.2 percent in comparison with last year. The kingdom's market got 66.9 percent of the total exports. This percentage rose in the wake of the drop in the exports to Iraq, which has not been replaced.

The value of manufactured exports to Iraq amounted to 28,187,000 Lebanese pounds compared to 74,165,000 pounds last year and 503,060,000 pounds in 1982, constituting 6.7 percent of the total [this year] compared to 40 percent in 1982. The drop from 1982 to 1983 amounted to nearly 85 percent and from 1983 to 1984 to nearly 62 percent, keeping in mind the big difference in the value of the exports.

The value of the exports to Jordan amounted to 26.2 million pounds compared to 51 million in 1983 and 94.7 million in 1982. The exports to Jordan this year amounted to 6.7 percent of the total. The value of the exports to Syria amounted to 19.8 million pounds compared to 49.2 million pounds last year and 57 million pounds in 1982.

The value of the exports to Egypt amounted to 16.9 million pounds and to Kuwait to 16.4 million pounds.

The value of the exports to the Saudi, Iraqi, Jordanian, Syrian, Egyptian and Kuwaiti markets collectively amounted to 386,572,000 pounds representing 92.85 percent of the total value of the exports, with these markets thus becoming the backbone of the destination countries for the Lebanese manufactured products.

In the near-total absence of exports to the European countries, especially the Common Market countries, the Arab markets have gotten 97.3 percent of the

exports, thus confirming the new channelling of the manufactured exports toward the Arab countries, focusing on one main market, which is the Saudi market. It is evident that any flaw developing in this market will hit the Lebanese industry in the heart unless new markets are opened. This is an aspiration to which the National Council for Foreign Economic Relations has alluded.

Whereas we find that the Saudi market imports all kinds of manufactured Lebanese goods without exception, we discover that other markets focus on certain types of these manufactured goods, such as paper and paper products, cardboard products, aluminum products, machines, metal products and electrical appliances.

It must be noted that obtaining a certificate of origin for exporting manufactured products does not necessarily mean that the products are exported. Moreover, the value of these exports in accordance with the certificates of origin issued to them by the chambers of commerce and industry may amount to twice the value noted here. But the comparison with last year or with previous years remains unchanged.

Value of Exports According to Type of Product  
(in 1,000 Lebanese Pounds)

Type of Product	First 6 Months of 1984	Percentage to Total	First 6 Months of 1983	Percent- age Change
Foodstuffs	18,976	4.6	33,110	-42.7
Soybean cake [fodder]	-	-	10,670	-
Natural and Mineral Water	3,593	0.8	5,621	-36
Beverages	2,423	0.6	5,736	-57.7
Varied Clothing	33,850	8.2	70,159	-51.7
Textiles	807	0.2	7,363	-88.8
Rugs and Linens	23,217	5.6	11,837	+96.1
Tanned & Processed				
Leather, Excluding Shoes	5,010	1.2	4,330	+15.7
Shoes	1,237	0.3	4,385	-71.8
Plywood and Veneer	358	0.08	-	-
Wooden Furniture &				
Products	7,268	1.7	18,082	-59.8
Chemical Products	21,609	5.2	44,156	-51.0
Paints	14,840	3.6	21,499	-30.9
Medical Products	19,146	4.6	20,295	- 5.6
Paper & Paper Products	15,595	3.7	19,805	-21.2
Carboard Products	13,222	3.2	11,060	+19.5
Non-Mineral Mine Products	33,446	8.0	84,952	-60.6
Black Cement	9,093	2.3	23,451	-72.8
Metal Products	33,112	7.9	93,724	-64.6
Aluminum Products	20,712	4.9	52,175	-60.3
Small Goods	5,718	1.4	4,628	+23.5
Electrical Appliances	8,846	2.2	44,688	-80.2
Industrial Machinery &				
Mixers	19,106	4.6	50,399	-62.0
Plastic Products	13,257	3.2	39,062	-66.0
Miscellaneous Products	91,889	22.0	96,960	-5.2
Total	416,330	100.0	778,077	-46.5

8494

CSO: 4404/64

## BANK OF LEBANON REPORTS ON TREASURY NOTE SUBSCRIPTIONS

## August Subscriptions

Beirut AL-NAHAR in Arabic 5 Sep 84 p 37

[Text] The total subscription to treasury notes amounted in August to 1,519,850,000 Lebanese pounds compared to payments due amounting in the same month to 1,591,050,000 pounds. Thus, the total subscriptions were 71.2 million pounds less than the payments due by the treasury to previously issued notes, despite the high interest rate paid for treasury bonds (13.5 percent) and the relative security and political calm prevailing in that month.

There are other factors which prevented subscription by larger amounts, the most important being:

1. The continued speculation in and demand for the Lebanese pound, thus compelling the banks to maintain a larger liquidity margin.
2. The increased activity in the secondary market between the banks, thus providing investment opportunities that are more flexible than the treasury notes.
3. The relative drop in the liquidity volume in the banks, resulting from the intervention of the Bank of Lebanon in the currency market by selling dollars to curtail the rise in its price.

Moreover, the 3-month treasury notes got nearly two-thirds the subscriptions, thus reflecting the banks' preference for short-term notes.

Following is the distribution of the subscriptions according to category in the month of August:

Date	3-Month Notes	6-Month Notes	9-Month Notes	Total
6 August	173,240	105,000	128,700	243,530
13 August	329,740	43,000	82,110	324,040
20 August	179,590	59,000	82,300	320,890
27 August	189,390	79,520	68,260	337,170
Grand Total	871,960	286,520	361,370	1,519,850
Percentage	57.4	18.8	23.8	100%

## Impact of Interest Rate

Beirut AL-NAHAR in Arabic 9 Sep 84 p 7

[Text] It seems that the increased interest rate paid for the treasury notes has not motivated the banks to increase their subscription to these notes.

The deadline for accepting subscription applications for three categories (3-month, 6-month and 1 year notes), to be issued tomorrow, ended at noon yesterday. The outcome of the applications was as follows:

1. Three-month notes, paying 14.5 percent: The subscription amounted to 372,750,000 pounds.
2. Six-month notes, paying 14.5 percent: The subscriptions amounted to 77 million Lebanese pounds.
3. One-year notes, paying 14.5 percent: The subscriptions amounted to 175,540,000 pounds.

Thus, the total subscriptions amounted to 625,290,000 pounds, distributed among the three categories by the following percentages:

59.61 percent in 3-month notes, 12.31 percent in 6-month notes and 28.08 percent in 1-year notes.

The banks' demand for subscription has been relatively small, considering that the yield of this note issue is 131,350,000 pounds less than the payments due for previous issues, amounting to 756,640,000 pounds. This lack of demand is due to several factors, the most important being:

1. The intervention of the Bank of Lebanon in the currency market, selling dollars and absorbing a large part of the currency available to the banks.
2. The fact that a number of banks have been compelled to borrow from the banking market to cover some of their positions given the intensive speculation and the demand for the dollar.
3. The precaution taken by some banks in connection with the circulated reports about the possibility of another increase in the interest paid for treasury notes.

8494

CSO: 4404/77

DETAILS GIVEN ON MA'RIB DAM PROJECT

London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 13 Oct 84 p 8

[Article: "In 3 Years Yemen's Historic Ma'rib Dam Will Be Rebuilt; the Fourth Stage of the Dam's Construction Will Cost \$75 Million; It Will Hold Back 400 Million Cubic Meters of Water and Will Double the Area of Land Under Cultivation"]

[Text] San'a'--The historic Ma'rib dam, which was at the center of numerous historical events in Yemen, is about to enter modern history once again. It is one of the most important recent accomplishments for the Yemeni economy, and it will bring prosperity and fertility to the land of Yemen and to its fine people.

In the beginning of October Col 'Ali 'Abdallah Salih, the president of the YAR, and Shaykh Zayid ibn Sultan Al Nuhayan, the president of the UAE, participated in laying the cornerstone for the dam's reconstruction in the city of Ma'rib. The cornerstone was laid after the completion of studies and designs on implementation of the project, and after the contract was given to an international company to construct the dam at a cost of \$75 million, which is being financed by the UAE. The new dam will be situated at a distance of 3 km from the site of the ancient Ma'rib dam.

The Ancient Ma'rib Dam

The YAR Ministry of Agriculture and Fish Resources has published a report about the dam. It contains the following information:

Opinions differ over the date of the construction of the ancient dam, whose ruins still remain. Some researchers believe that the dam, which was called 'Arim Ma'rib, was first built in 700 BC by [Sumhu]'alay Yanuf and his son Yatha''amar. The dam was built with a defect and was called at that time ('Arimadhy Yamarib).

First Rebuilding

The dam was first rebuilt in 100 BC during the age of Yasrum Yuhan'im and his son Dhara''amar.

Second Rebuilding

That was in 300 AD



### Third Rebuilding

The dam was rebuilt for a third time by Sharahbi'il Ya'fur, the son of 'Abkarib 'As'ad in 450 AD.

### Fourth Rebuilding

It was rebuilt a fourth time by Abrahah the Ethiopian in 557 AD. The dam was 18 meters high and was about 600 meters long.

### The New Ma'rib Dam

On 11 September 1976, upon the completion of an economic feasibility study for the Ma'rib dam project, an agreement was signed between the Abu Dhabi Fund and a Swiss consulting company called (Electrowatt) to produce a study on controlling and exploiting flood water in Wadi 'Ubaydah. The company submitted its final report in June 1978. It included the following recommendations:

1. The dam should be built with a retentive capacity of 390 million cubic meters and a height of 39 meters.
2. Four small dams should be built behind the dam to help convey and distribute irrigation water.
3. Canals should be built to carry the irrigation water for a total length of 55 km. They should be equipped with water distribution units.

### Facts and Figures About the Dam

The site of the proposed dam is 11 km west of the city of Ma'rib in Wadi 'Ubaydah, and 3 km from the site of the ancient dam. The wadi basin has an area of 10,000 square km. The average rainfall fluctuates between 50 and 300 mm a year. The following are the dam's main statistics:

The dam's height, measured from the lowest point of its construction, will be 39 meters.

The lowest point in the wadi is 1,190 meters above sea level.

The height of the ancient dam was 18 meters.

The top of the dam will be 1,228 meters above sea level.

The dam's length will be 763 meters.

Construction of the dam and the irrigation system will cost \$75 million.

The dam will be 6 meters wide at the top.

It will be 195 meters wide at the bottom, at the water outlet.

It will be 215 meters wide at the ground level.

The dam will have a storage capacity of 390 million cubic meters.

The natural reservoir will be 1,222 meters above sea level.

The body of the dam, made of rocks and building materials, will occupy 2.8 million cubic meters.

The maximum quantity of water that will flow through Wadi 'Ubaydah will be 600 million cubic meters annually.

The average quantity of water that will flow through the wadi will be 200 million cubic meters annually.

The central portion of the dam will contain an impermeable layer consisting of sedimentary rock at the bottom of the wadi. It will be covered with rocks on both sides of the dam to protect it from waves during floods, and damage by rain. There will be strata of filters and drains through which the body of the dam can rid itself of any water that might leak into it. The dam's construction will also include a concrete barrier at a depth of 40 meters below the dam to prevent the leakage of water from the 24,000 square meter reservoir in front of the dam.

The front slopes of dam one are 2.25, while the back slopes are 2.20. It became clear from the design estimates that the coefficient of safety for these slopes against the forces of slippage and the pressure of the stored up water is greater than 1, and ranges between 1.007 and 1.646.

#### Flow of the Dam's Water

The dam was designed so that water would flow from in front of the dam to behind the dam through an opening 2.5 meters in diameter dug in the rocks under the right wall, 195 meters in length, lined with iron sheets and equipped with primary and backup gates. The flow is estimated at approximately 35 [cubic] meters pouring into a 20-meter wide canal, from which it will flow into the wadi to be distributed to the irrigation canals.

Excess water will be drained at a site 6 km south of the dam. This drain will be 100 meters in length and will have an estimated drainage capacity of 5,250 cubic meters. It will operate when the water level in front of the dam rises about 32 meters.

The site of the dam will be equipped with measurement equipment which includes the following:

Fourteen units to measure the water pressure on the body of the dam at various horizontal levels.

Two measurement devices to determine the extent to which the body of the dam is sinking. One will be at the axis and the other behind the dam.

Three channels in the direction of the axis and behind the dam to measure water levels and pressure.

One unit for taking measurements will be placed behind the dam.

#### The Transfer Dams

Small transfer dams have been designed for the Wadi 'Ubaydah riverbed below the storage dam, where the primary canals begin, for the purpose of raising the water level to cause the water to enter the canals. Transfer dams number 1, 2 and 3 are as long as the wadi is wide, and each has a 24 meter long outlet to carry 35 cubic meters. These dams are from 1.60 to 2.20 meters in height. Transfer dam number 4 is 5.2 meters high to enable it to store up about 745,000 cubic meters of water at night in order to feed the canals which get their water from it. This is necessary because they extend for long distances and they are needed to irrigate a large area. All of the dams are equipped with sluice gates to feed the irrigation canals.

#### The Primary Canals

These consist of clay water courses. They were designed so as not to be subject to sinking or sedimentation. Their slopes are 1:2. Installations will be built upon them to allow the water to overflow in view of the sharply sloping land. Outflow from these canals ranges from 0.18 to 9.85 cubic meters per second. The width at the bottom ranges from 1.25 to 2.30 meters, and the length ranges from 1,860 to 12,630 meters. Their total length is 55,100 meters.

Construction of the dam is expected to take 3 years. The critical period in the construction is when the concrete barrier under the body of the dam is built and brought to the designated rock level. It must be completed before the first rainy season after the work has begun. By the end of the third year the dam's storage capacity will be fully functional and it can begin to discharge water at the appropriate time on its right side.

The transfer dams, irrigation canals and water distribution installations are expected to be completed 2 years after work commences.

#### Benefits of the Project

1. In the first stage the area of land under cultivation will increase from 3,301 hectares to 9,293 hectares. The area is expected to increase to 20,000 hectares with the addition of new areas and the introduction of modern irrigation systems using sprinklers, drip methods and axial irrigation.
2. It will ensure the permanent availability of water in the reservoir which can be used for regulating irrigation operations and controlling the dam's outflow.
3. Subterranean storage will be increased as a result of the presence of water in the reservoir and in the irrigation canals throughout the year.
4. Agricultural land will be protected from erosion by floods.
5. The economic return from the project is estimated at about 14 percent. This is a big step on the road to food security.

## WHILE CIVILIANS FLEE MUJAHIDIN INTENSIFY RESISTANCE

Paris LE MONDE in French 16 Oct 84 pp 1, 7

[Article by Olivier Roy, researcher at the National Center for Scientific Research]

[Text] Qandahar, late August--As they have done every morning for nearly a year, two MiG aircraft make their routine bombings of the outskirts of Qandahar. Punctual and methodical, they drop their two huge bombs on a different "committee" each day (a "committee" is a resistance gathering site); but faced with irregular fire from a good dozen heavy machine guns, they normally miss their targets and depart immediately, dropping a shower of heat-producing chaff to divert unlikely anti-aircraft missiles. Vast craters now surround the buildings that are still intact. All around, villages are in ruins and the civilian population has fled from the combat zones.

Resistance forces are entrenched in the oases surrounding the city of Qandahar and the conflict resembles World War I more than a guerrilla war. The oases are actually a tangled web of orchards, vineyards and deserted roads: the grapes providing the region's wealth grow on hills flanked by ditches, which the Mujahidin use as trenches. The irrigation canals constitute formidable anti-tank defenses. Faced with a war that has now become an everyday occurrence, the Afghans are digging in for the first time: anti-aircraft shelters, trenches, even tunnels. The number of machine guns has risen sharply. At night, resistance members gather together in committees, but at dawn they break up into small combat groups and wait for the bombs.

But on this particular day, things weren't merely routine. The day before, a handwritten "circular" had been passed around the approximately 20 committees holding the Pashmoul Oasis west of Qandahar: a Soviet offensive was to be launched at dawn and was expected to last 10 days. To our great surprise (and, it must be said, to our slight apprehension), the combatants did not for one instant consider abandoning the oasis before the inevitable encirclement; on the contrary, they hoped that the Soviets would try to clean out the area, which would provide them with an opportunity for combat at close quarters, a situation with which the resistance is more comfortable.

In the morning, the routine bombing was followed by numerous other aerial sorties. But the helicopters remained high in the sky: for once, the Afghan machine guns' density of fire reached a deterrent threshold, even for the armored helicopters. Soviet troops coming from the airport surrounded the oasis in a pincer movement from the east. Armored vehicles stopped along the first irrigation canal; their crews got out and took up positions, and the shelling, which would last for a long week, began: tank guns, heavy artillery, mortars, but especially BM-21 multiple rocket launchers, capable of launching 40 projectiles in a few seconds.

Among the Afghans, the waiting began. We were placed in a shelter next to a machine gun set up in the middle of the vineyards. Our host was our attentive servant: he gave us the small room that he had dug out beside his weapon: a carpet, some artificial flowers and even an ingenious cooling system that worked by sprinkling water on brush placed over the air ducts. The job of a gunner is similar to that of a railroad crossing guard: the real work takes only a few minutes each day, just the time required to fire one or two bursts at a MiG: the rest of the day is spent gardening (each group lovingly maintains a patch of petunias and French marigolds), gathering grapes and fixing up the shelter. However, the intensity of the Soviet shelling during our visit permitted going out only a few times a day, just enough time to put water on the brush or to gather fresh grapes, which were offered to the guests.

On the morning of the third day, we watched with surprise as our host began to conscientiously dismantle his machine gun. What was going on? "Well, the Russians are coming and anyway, I don't have any more ammunition." What to do? "No problem, we'll go to the next committee." After a few zigzags between the bombs, we found ourselves at the next committee, in a shelter hardly less charming than the first. But the next day, after the MiG's passed over, our new protector also started to dismantle his machine gun: this time it was because of a defective part. And we left again for another committee, located at the boundary of the oasis opposite the desert where the Soviets were deployed. "In any case," as the leader of the new committee calmly remarked, "we just have to hold out until the ninth day. The Soviets are very punctual."

#### Escalation of War

Everything went off as expected. In all, the Soviets tried twice to penetrate the oasis, using the same approach: an initial line of Afghan Government troops moved forward with minimum artillery support; in at least one case, the soldiers deserted before the resistance even opened fire. The second line of troops was Soviet; we knew they were coming because the fire support was considerably more intense and a wave of helicopters arrived to launch their missiles. As soon as the soldiers reached the vineyards, their fine organization fell apart; ill at ease, the first Soviet troops were picked off like rabbits and the rest quickly withdrew. Resistance members proudly displayed the new AK-74 rifles seized on that occasion, undeniable proof that they had killed Soviet troops, since Afghan Government forces are not equipped with that weapon.

On the evening of the ninth day, following a final impressive display, the artillery fell silent. The next day, while the Soviets were withdrawing methodically, the Afghans killed a sheep and took a siesta. The day after that, the MiG's returned at their usual time and the routine began again.

There has been a sharp escalation of the war on both sides. The Soviets have unquestionably strengthened their expeditionary force, which is reportedly approaching 200,000 men, including troops stationed along the border in Soviet territory. They have concentrated troops and operations in three areas: the Kabul region (as far as Logar to the south and the Panjshir Valley to the north), Herat and Qandahar. They can now carry out simultaneous offensives in these areas at a rate of one every two or three months. Aerial sorties and bombings are daily occurrences. The Soviets have also mounted night ambushes along the Pakistani border (it was during one of these routine ambushes that journalist Jacques Abouchar was captured). The attacks on the Panjshir Valley are being perfected more and more and are employing special forces. Conventional Soviet forces are used in the rest of the country, with their usual sluggishness and slowness, but they are now authorized to use considerable firepower without restriction. The Soviets have responded to resistance progress in Chernenko-esque style: with political inertia and the use of force.

In view of this escalation, the overall situation of the resistance has become more complex. In the war zones, the Mujahidin have made substantial technical progress: better armed and inured to combat, they are adapting to the war's intensification without too much trouble. Civilians, on the other hand, are fleeing to Pakistan, the cities or the mountains. Tensions among resistance forces are still keen, especially in areas in which the absence of Soviet pressure has not triggered the reflex of sacred unity. Urban guerrilla warfare is increasing sharply and new types of attacks are evidence of a development toward greater organization and increased use of technology. If arms shipments remain limited and are still below the qualitative threshold that would endanger the Soviets, the shortages of previous years no longer exist: only ammunition for "heavy" weapons (machine guns, mortars and recoilless guns) is still insufficient.

#### More Complex Relations with Civilians

However, this "professionalization" of the Mujahidin has made relations with the civilian population more complex: many villages would probably be satisfied having a modus vivendi with the Soviets, which would at least assure their survival. It is obvious that the USSR is conducting a long-term war of attrition whose aim is not so much the destruction of vital resistance forces as it is the slow and methodical erosion of the popular base of support for that resistance. Beyond the war's intensification, the political question definitely exists.

The bombardment of resistance areas has had the effect of causing resistance forces to be on the defensive constantly (except in Kabul) and of blocking the process of unification behind the main leaders--such as Mas'ud in the Panjshir Valley--since they now spend their time evading the staggering blows

of the Soviet Army. In 1984, however, the Soviets have not achieved any really significant victories. The resistance is not bleeding to death, even though its combat losses are greater, and its main leaders have not been killed or captured. Occupation forces have not managed to pacify any of the country's 28 provinces and their territorial gains amount to a few district capitals encircled by the resistance. Above all, Afghan Government forces, except for a few shock brigades deployed in Paktia Province, are absolutely incapable of replacing the Soviets. The government's strength rests on local militia comprised of communists, mercenaries and the few beneficiaries of agrarian reform. But these militia are very static, even if they are sometimes aggressive, and they are supported very poorly by regular soldiers, much more so by the Soviets. In August, in the Sarobi region east of Kabul, the great militia leader and tribal notable, Hassan Khan Karokheyi, assigned to protect the electric power line supplying the capital, emigrated to Pakistan with his entire clan (300 families in all) following an ultimatum issued by the young commander of the Kabul region, Abdul Haq, a member of the party of Younous Khales. Soviet and Afghan Government troops have proved incapable of protecting their sympathizers and the electric power line has since been cut.

Paradoxically, the war's intensification is often desired by the most dynamic resistance leaders, since it enables them to get rid of opportunistic elements and to close ranks. Many regions have been lulled into a false peace and local dissension, as well as individual traits and selfishness, have become prevalent again, especially since Afghan society is still extremely segmented. More seriously, in border areas or along main roads, banditry is starting to develop (often in collaboration with government agents). This phenomenon is an inherent feature of Afghan history, of course, and the looting tribes have been the same for centuries (the Mohmand and Shinwari along the famous Khyber Pass), but there is a great risk that the population may confuse Mujahidin with the bandits. Areas of intense fighting are those in which the resistance is most united, whether through a single party (such as the Jamiat in Herat) or through horizontal solidarity among local committees affiliated with the entire array of resistance parties (as in Qandahar). Areas of conflict (Helmand, Hararajat) are those in which the Soviets have avoided taking action.

Thus a radical change in the internal situation of the Afghan Resistance cannot be expected in the near future. The key to change is to be found in the international context and, first of all, with Afghanistan's two neighbors, Iran and Pakistan. Pakistan is most important in the short term, but in the long term Iran's development is one of the keys to the conflict. Slowly but surely, Iran is becoming more and more involved.



11915  
CSO: 4619/9



## PAKISTAN'S RELATIONS WITH INDIA, U.S. EXAMINED

New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 26 Oct 84 p 4

[Article by Harishankar Vyas: "In Limbo Between India and U.S."]

[Text] The dialogue between New Delhi and Islamabad does not follow diplomatic etiquette anymore; the diplomats are using the hardcore language of political leaders. These two countries never really were friendly to each other but through diplomatic channels they had succeeded in keeping their relations peaceful. The situation has changed now. The accusations and counteraccusations by leaders have created an atmosphere that could lead to war. A little wind and the cinders will flare up. The question arises: Cannot we retract? Why not start diplomatic dialogue to reestablish friendly relations? When the rumble of tanks is heard on a country's border, talks for peaceful negotiations become imperative. But the anger on both sides is so strong that a third country, the United States, has been pulled into this problem. Mr Richard Murphy, U.S. State Department expert on South Asia, did not visit New Delhi for fun. His sudden trip after Indian comments on a statement by the U.S. ambassador in Islamabad indicates the seriousness of the tension. India is angry because of Pakistan's help for Sikhs. The prime minister and leaders of the ruling party have repeatedly accused Pakistan of being involved in incidents in Punjab, but now Home Secretary Manmohan Krishna Wali, along with the foreign secretary, has openly declared that Pakistan instigated the separatists in Punjab. Mr Rasgotra, our foreign secretary, said in a statement in the United States, that relations between Pakistan and India were cold and that Pakistani support to the Sikh extremists had destroyed all hopes of normalizing relations between New Delhi and Islamabad.

No proof has been presented about the "Pakistani hand" but the way this accusation is being repeated from New Delhi indicates that there is some substance to it. India's anger seems to be justified. This is just another example of one neighboring country interfering in another's internal affairs for some selfish reasons. We cannot compare Pakistan with China. China's help to insurgents in our Northeast is not the same as Pakistani's conspiracy in the densely populated, strategic area of Punjab. Our attitude toward China is different than toward Pakistan. We consider China a superpower but it does not appear very threatening to us because of the Himalayas. Pakistan has been our number one enemy. We have beaten it at war but it is still annoying us. Pakistan is our permanent headache. It competes with us. It challenges our

leadership in the region. Unlike Sri Lanka, Nepal and Bangladesh, Pakistan does not take politely to our supremacy. On the contrary, it interferes in our internal affairs

It is understandable why the foreign policymakers and our military strategists dislike Pakistan's tendency to compete with us and take advantage of our situation. It is not illogical for India to desire a greater status in the long run than being a regional power. The major hurdle to this goal is Pakistan, which has formulated its military planning only on the basis of a challenge to India. The United States is helping Pakistan, and our relations with the United States stay somewhat tense because of this. Pakistan would be forced to stop all those unnecessary military exercises if the United States stops helping it. However, we cannot expect the Pakistani rulers to become civilized overnight as their malice goes much further. China, of course, always supports Pakistan because of its own military designs. The subject at hand, however, is the U.S. support.

The United States has its own reasons to cooperate with Pakistan. Is not it helping Pakistan to restrain India's increasing influence? India has refused to play into the U.S. hands like Pakistan did. India tried to play an important role in international politics merely on the strength of its large size and even without any clearly defined strategies and objectives. No superpower likes it when someone tries to act as an equal; superpowers would naturally check such efforts. Later, some mistakes on our part and some constraints made us get closer to the Soviet Union. Pakistan became an ally of the United States. Now Pakistan is useful to the United States in various ways. The coming of the Soviets in Afghanistan has turned Pakistan into a direct front of the United States to oppose the Soviet Union. Being a Muslim country, Pakistan is given much importance by the Arab and Gulf countries. Pakistani army advisors are working in many of these countries. The Gulf area is very important to the United States for military reasons. Against this background, there is no better ally than Pakistan for the United States in time of crisis. The welfare of the United States, the Gulf countries and Pakistan is so interdependent that they have no alternative but to work together. They have the same purpose and similar military needs, and all are affected by the same geopolitical game. How can the United States stay neutral in the Indo-Pakistani bilateral affairs?

At present, Washington needs Pakistan more than Pakistan needs dollars. It is getting plenty of money from the Gulf countries. As for modern weapons, several other countries besides the United States are eager and in the market to export weapons. Jaguar, Mirage and Super Etendard are some of the airplanes that challenge the F-16. Then there is China to help. For this reason, General Zia has continued his plan to make atom bomb in spite of the U.S. pressure. General Zia is aware of the U.S. helplessness. He is milking it by acting as a helpless pawn instead of openly blackmailing it.

How far this helplessness of the United States has been analyzed by New Delhi is not clear. The U.S. concern, however, is evident by George Bush's attempt to understand the Indo-Pakistan problem and the sudden trip by Richard Murphy. Warning Pakistan about the possible flight of some Jaguar planes toward its nuclear plant at Kahutha and the labeling of India as an aggressor by Hinton,

the U.S. ambassador in Islamabad, also indicate Washington's worries. Is Washington worried because India has decided that it had had enough of the Pakistani headache?

Helping the Punjabi terrorists, accumulating ultramodern weapons and the continued work on atom bomb have forced the Indian defense strategists to think of ways to curb Pakistan. This question must be dealt with in our long-range plans. As long as Pakistan has the present military mentality, it will be a thorn in India's side whether India wants to be a world power in the next 20 or 30 years or be the undisputed leader of the region. Pakistan will continue to take advantage of India's internal weaknesses. It is not difficult to imagine the dangerous results of such efforts. If Pakistan succeeds in making the bomb and acquires spy planes like the Hawkeye, it will be in position to blackmail India as well. How to curb such Pakistani designs? This is the major issue confronting us. The U.S. ambassador, accusing India of ulterior motives, has expressed fears that India wants to mangle Pakistan badly so that Pakistan may not challenge it again. Statements by Mrs Gandhi and other Indian leaders have confirmed this fear in Washington. India is in much better shape militarily than Pakistan. It is capable of admonishing Pakistan. This type of rivalry, this competition can be stopped only two ways. One is to make stronger [diplomatic] effort and the other is to assure Pakistan that this competition is useless and that there is no danger from us. We can certainly mount a stronger diplomatic-political effort. This can be achieved only with help from the United States. India has to take the initiative in telling the Soviet Union to withdraw its army from Afghanistan. The major reason given for the military cooperation between the United States and Pakistan is the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. The Reagan administration will, even if unwillingly, have to curtail help to Pakistan once this reason is removed. The Senate and the House will stop endorsing assistance to Pakistan.

Anyhow, the major problems are the rumble of tanks on our borders, the U.S. concern and our restlessness. Instead of using diplomacy, we are accusing each other and this could push both countries into a war. Our internal politics have fanned this fire, but problems of internal politics are here to stay. Both General Zia and Mrs Gandhi will try to exploit such issues. There are many other factors that decide relations between countries. We need a friendship treaty to stop all this. Only a promise not to bear arms can guarantee a beginning of normal relations. Peace can be brought only by a concrete step in this direction. Otherwise they will end up trying to test each other's powers. The question as to who will start the war is unimportant.

7997

CSO: 4624/01

## SOVIET REPRESENTATIVE EXPECTS INCREASE IN TRADE

Madras THE HINDU in English 13 Nov 84 p 6

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Nov. 12.

The two-way trade turnover between India and the Soviet Union will reach the target of Rs. 3,800 crores for this year, according to the Soviet trade representative here, Mr. I. I. Semenov. He feels the target of a two-fold increase during 1981-85, as compared to 1976-80, will be exceeded.

Mr. Semenov told newsmen at a preview of the Soviet pavilion in the Indian International Trade Fair (IITF) that India and the Soviet Union had set themselves the task of a two-fold trade increase during 1986-90 also. During 1976-80 this was Rs. 6,800 crores. It was expected to touch Rs. 16,000 crores during 1981-85.

This optimistic assessment comes in the wake of reports, in a section of the press, of simmering problems in Indo-Soviet trade with the balance currently against the Soviet Union. Soviet embassy sources, however, point out that according to Reserve Bank of India figures, the trade balance is currently favourable to the Soviet Union to the tune of Rs. 300 crores. No problem is envisaged in achieving the target set.

The Soviet share of the Indian traditional exports had steadily risen, Mr. Semenov said. Purchases of knitwear, for instance, had gone up from a few million rupees in the 1960's to well over Rs. 100 crores, accounting for 90 per cent of India's export.

The Soviet Union exported machines, equipment and plant for the industrialisation of India. India buyers, he said, should now acquaint themselves with the very modern technologies and equipment that the Soviet Union had to offer today.

**Soviet team arrives:** Meanwhile, a delegation of the Soviet Chamber of Commerce and Industry, led by Mr. C. P. Pitoronov arrived here today for talks with the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry. This is in continuation of the dialogue, started a couple of years ago, for greater cooperation between the Indian private sector and Soviet undertakings. The setting up of an Indo-Soviet joint chamber of commerce is one of the subjects to be discussed at a meeting on November 15.

MORE REPORTAGE ON AFTERMATH OF GANDHI ASSASSINATION

Rajiv Meets With Opposition

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 7 Nov 84 p 1

[Text] NEW DELHI, November 6--THE Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, today again reminded the opposition of the urgency to come together in removing fears, apprehension and distrust.

He told a delegation of opposition representatives that the government had called for a vigorous search and recovery of looted property in the capital.

The opposition spokesman handed to him a memorandum seeking full protection for Sikhs and immediate relief to riot victims.

Mr. Rajiv Ganhi informed them that the government was intensifying relief and rehabilitation measures. It would also consider resettling in new areas those who desired so. Others would be provided with full protection and facilities for going back to their homes.

He was categorical that there would be no political interference in the police investigation or search for looted property.

The Prime Minister explained to the delegation the government's firm directives in this regard. At the same time he pointed to the spate of rumours, 90 per cent of which had been found false on investigation.

Mr. Gandhi urged the opposition leaders to ensure that Guru Nanak's birthday (Thursday) was celebrated with due solemnity. The occasion should be utilised to bring the people together, he said.

The home minister, Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao, was also present at his meeting with the opposition leaders.

The deputationists who had signed the memorandum included Mr. E.M.S. Namboodiripda (CPM), Mr. C. Rajeswara Rao (CPI), Mr. K. P. Unnikrishnan (Cong-S), Mr. Tridib Choudhury (RSP), Mr. Karpocri Thakur (DMKP), Mr. Chandrajit Yadav (Janvadi), Mr. Satyanarayan Reddy (Telugu Desam) and Mr. Bhim Singh (Panthers Party).

The memorandum claimed that some of the signatories who went round areas in Delhi found official casualty figures grossly underestimated. "The loss of life, the value of property looted and the sense of terror created among the people are far more extensive and serious than officially admitted," they said.

#### "Cong. Obstruction"

In their view the deployment of the military, though late, had to a certain extent helped but the situation was still tense in several places. While in some pockets anti-social crimes were still being committed, it was "disturbing that in other places where firm intervention by the administrative machinery has helped in the recovery of looted property and arrest of criminals, political intervention by leaders of the ruling party is creating obstruction."

The memorandum cited a press report, "verified by our party workers", that the Congress MP, Mr. Dharam Dass Shastri, "is obstructing the action of the authorities." The memorandum urged the Prime Minister to take firm action both at administrative and political levels against all such persons.

They pleaded that "undivided attention should be given to confidence so that nobody committing any anti-social crime will go unpunished regardless of the position he or she occupies administratively or politically."

According to them, "the Sikhs are even now terror-stricken. The earlier lapses in alerting, deploying and activating the security forces should not be repeated. Adequate protection should be given to the Sikhs so that they may not think of migrating from the places where they live."

The memorandum went on: "The conditions in relief camps are appalling. We have seen these conditions and talked to the inmates. We were shocked to find that even bare necessities of life like water, food, sleeping place, and sanitation facilities are not provided. There is not even covered shelter in some camps and people sleep in the open in this bitter winter without blankets. What will happen to these unfortunate people and how the insanitary conditions of their lives would affect others (the outbreak of epidemics) are beyond imagination."

The memorandum placed on record "our protest against the home ministry's failure to protect Mrs. Gandhi's life and its lack of competence in putting down the subsequent riots."

The Janata Party president, Mr. Chandra Shekhar, today called on the president, Mr. Zail Singh, and conveyed to him his assessment of the situation in Delhi, particularly conditions in relief centres.

According to Mr. Chandra Shekhar, those uprooted from their homes were feeling insecure. He stressed the need for deployment of more army men.

He also apprised the President of the constitution of a people's relief committee headed by Mr. M. Midayatullah, former vice-president, and the resources mobilised for relief.

UNI adds: The Prime Minister said the acts of two misguided individuals in assassinating Mrs. Indira Gandhi could not be termed the action of the entire Sikh community.

### Congress-I Youth in Riots?

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 7 Nov 84 p 8

[Editorial]

[Text] We are in no position to assess the accuracy to what ever degree, or otherwise of what is being said quite openly by both the victims of the communal holocaust in the capital and elsewhere, and many others. Prejudices and partisan considerations easily come into play in such situations. As a people we Indians tend to exaggerate and even to invent. Some of us have been known to have "seen" things which have never existed. That is one reason why rumours spread so easily. Many of us have a predisposition to believe what we are told and to circulate these things. These tendencies can, indeed often do, get emphasised among the victims of the kind of the disaster was have witnessed in Delhi and over 100 other towns and cities in the country. So it is with greatest reluctance that we have decided to take note of the widespread charge that some members of the Youth Congress have been involved in the carnage in the wake of Indira Gandhi's brutal assassination.

We continue to take the view that anger had been building up all over the country against the activities of the Akali extremists since they started killing innocent people in Punjab, that, as it happens almost invariably in such cases, the bitterness blurred the distinction between the extremists and ordinary Sikhs and that Indira Gandhi's assassination by two Sikh members of her own security guard acted as a catalyst which converted the pent-up anger into an orgy of loot, arson and murder. But that cannot and does not dispose of the question whether or not some Youth Congress activists have encouraged and, as the allegations go, even instigated the mobs on the rampage. In the capital at least the victims name names. The Delhi police officials, finally pushed into doing their duty by all citizens with no regard to their religion and politics by the new Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, are said to be complaining against interference by Congress councillors and M.P.s. We do not regard these private statements and news reports as conclusive evidence. But we cannot ignore either. The stakes are too high to permit us to do so.

It does not need to be established that the Youth Congress contains lumpens who recognise no moral law and tend to go berserk at the slightest opportunity. Their recent misdeeds on the way to Nagpur, in Nagpur and the way back home from Nagpur speak for themselves. This makes it tempting to believe that they have been guilty of the charges that are being levelled against them and demand immediate and drastic action against them. We have not yielded to this temptation and would not like others to yield to it either. To harass women and loot shops is something quite different from murdering and immolating fellow citizens. In psychological terms the dividing line exists, though it is obviously not possible for us to say that the line has not been crossed by some individuals in this bloody orgy. This is the heart of the matter. We

fear that the charge is likely to stick and that it will hurt Mr. Rajiv Gandhi unless he pre-empts it. Not by a flat denial but by a quick inquiry and drastic action if the inquiry reveals that the Youth Congress activists have been involved in the carnage. Indira Gandhi blurred the issue at Nagpur. In view of the enormous capital she had built over the years, she could afford to do so. Mr. Rajiv Gandhi cannot risk the impression that some of those who speak and act in his name are not only criminals by inclination but have behaved as such.

We are not unaware of the possible complications. We are aware that Mr. Rajiv Gandhi cannot wish to start his tenure as Prime Minister with an admission that a wing of his party harbours not just ordinary criminals but instigators of a communal holocaust. Action against such people, if they exist, will embarrass him but only temporarily. He has to send out a message, by deed and not by word alone that he is Prime Minister of all Indians, that he will not allow gangsters to seek asylum in his party, that he has the courage to take action against them, that he will not allow politicians, including Congressmen, to meddle with the enforcement of law and order. And he can shirk it only at considerable risk to himself--which is not all that important but also to the country--which is important. India is truly at the cross-roads and her future will depend on the road on which Mr. Rajiv Gandhi decides to lead it.

#### Conditions in Camps

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 7 Nov 84 pp 1, 12

[Article by Shahnaz Anklesaria]

[Text] NEW DELHI, Nov. 6--Epidemics may sweep through the larger relief camps which are sheltering thousands of Sikhs who fled their homes after the riots of November 1, because of the total neglect of these camps by the Delhi Administration.

For the past five days, the Administration has done nothing to provide water, food, medical supplies to these places. An estimated 40,000 people, mainly women and children--males were the largest victims of the carnage--have been lying in filthy conditions, many wounded and without food, drinking whatever water they could find and littering the sites with excreta. The only aid they received until a day ago was from the few agencies which have sprung up in the capital and which were the first to start relief work at these sites.

Pregnant women, lactating mothers with infants and men and women with major head injuries, burnt limbs and bruised bodies have been herded together in school buildings, police thanas, and gurudwaras and left there to fend for themselves.

#### Garbage

The first efforts by the Administration to reach these places was made as late as the evening of November 5 when sweepers of the Municipal Corporation were sent to remove the stinking garbage. The next morning medical assistance in the form of aspirins and cough syrups was doled out to the people.



In Shadara, an estimated 20 to 25,000 people are crammed within the Gandhi Smarak Senior Secondary School. People are lying within the corridors and playfields of the Shakarpur Higher Secondary School II. The Gandhinagar relief camp has about 2,000 people within it--and there are several smaller ad hoc shelters within parts of the city.

The Administration is not even aware of the 5,000 Sikhs within the Balasaheb Gurudwara, near ashram or the 2,000 within the halls of the Gurudwara Singh Sabha in Teliwara, Shahdara. All of them are looking after themselves.

In Shahdara, volunteers said they found people with second and third degree burns rotting in corners. Pregnant women are still lying within these centres and voluntary agencies are making efforts to remove them.

But local city hospitals, are not anxious to admit these patients. Many volunteers have complained that after the worst hours of the November 1 carnage, there were instances of mobs entering hospitals to attack doctors or the wounded people who were brought within the premises.

The Administration has only just begun to act. A harassed subdivisional magistrate was seen vainly trying to handle the massive centre at Shahdara.

In this camp, inmates told this correspondent that the first food supplies from the Government arrived today--but the trucks of milk packets and food were refused entry. Anger at what is seen as Government inaction both in providing protection during the riots and for relief work later is so extensive and deep that it will now be difficult for the Government to win back their confidence.

#### Relief Committees Formed

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 7 Nov 84 p 9

[Text] NEW DELHI, Nov. 6--Mr Chandra Shekhar, president of the Janata Party, announced here yesterday the formation of a 35-member relief committee, headed by the former Vice-President, Mr M. Hidayatullah, to undertake relief among those affected by violence.

Among those in the committee are Lt. Gen. J.S. Aurora, Mr Sharad Pawar, Mr George Fernandes, Mr Prabhudas Patwari, Mr Farooq Abdullah, Mr M. K. Karunanidhi, Mr Biju Patnaik, Mr P. Upendra, Mr Khushwant Singh, Mr Quasim, Mr Ram Jethmalani, Mr Romesh Thaper, Mr Madhu Dandavate, Dr Sarojini Mahishi and Shyed Shahabuddin.

Mr Chandra Shekhar said his party had already made a donation of Rs 25,000 to the relief committee. The Karnataka Government, headed by Mr Ramakrishna Hegde has announced a donation of Rs 1 million. The Andhra Pradesh Chief Minister, Mr N.T. Rama Rao, has promised the committee his Government's support.

The Janata president said arrangements had also been made to secure 500 tons of wheat to meet the requirements of those affected for at least three weeks.

According to his estimate, over 50,000 are in immediate need of food, clothes including winter garments, medicines and shelter from the cold. The cost of providing clothes and blankets alone would be around Rs 1 crore.

#### Cash Relief Suggested

He suggested that an immediate cash payment of Rs 10,000 should be made to all families of riot-victims. Similar assistance should be rendered to those whose industries have been destroyed in the riots.

The Government, he added, should place the work of relief to riot-victims on war-footing. Answering a question, Mr Chandra Shekhar said he had been visiting the affected areas every day, since Saturday. Yesterday, he visited the Trans-Jamuna colonies which are the worst hit.

The Janata Party president also announced the formation of a five-member fact finding committee to inquire into various aspects of the violence.

The committee which is expected to submit its report in three weeks, will investigate allegations that there was a political hand behind the violence. Mr Chandra Shekhar said this was in response to the serious apprehensions of ordinary people that the riots were by no means spontaneous and were pre-planned and engineered.

Even as Mr Chandra Shekhar was making that announcement, representatives of nine political parties were meeting at the DMKP headquarters under the chairmanship of Mr Charan Singh to consider relief measures.

#### CPI-M Statement

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 7 Nov 84 p 9

[Text] NEW DELHI, Nov. 6--CPI(M) leaders, who have visited some riot-affected areas in Delhi urged the Government yesterday to give a free hand to the troops to control the situation and impose strict curfew restrictions.

In a statement issued here, the CPI(M) leaders alleged that the Delhi administration had sought to underplay the extent of loss of Sikh life and property. For instance the claim of the Lieutenant-Governor of Delhi that only nine people died in Mongolpuri was a gross under-estimation.

The Communist leaders who visited the riot-affected areas were Mr E.M.S. Namboodiripad (general secretary), Mr B. T. Ranadive, and Mr E. Balanandan (politburo members); Mr Prakash Karpal and Mr Jogendra Sharma (member of the Delhi unit), Mr Nepaldev Bhattacharjee and Mr Saifuddin Chaudhari (M.P.s)

They said residents of the areas they visited and riot victims had told them that organized mobs were brought from outside their areas to conduct the attacks. The police everywhere connived at the crimes, refusing to intervene.

Many people, the CPI(M) leaders said, had mentioned those who led or instigated the attacks. In Mongolpuri and Sultanpur, the situation came under control only after the military was deployed 24 hours after the major incident.

It was stated by the CPI(M) leaders that the victims of Sultanpur had been kept in makeshift shelters, which were terribly overcrowded. The shelters lacked good medical and sanitation facilities. Urgent measures were called for to improve the facilities in the relief camps and to provide clothes, blankets and medical treatment.

CSO: 4600/1133

## PAKISTAN OPPOSITION LEADER INTERVIEWED IN DELHI

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 9 Nov 84 p 1

[Article by John Dayal]

[Text] Pakistan opposition leader Khan Abdul Wali Khan has warned his country may face a 'naked, bloody revolution' if the people are not allowed a democratic and constitutional system to express themselves.

Khan Wali Khan and his wife Begum Nasim were in the Capital to be at the funeral of Mrs Indira Gandhi. This was the first time since March 1947 that the Pakhtoon leader, son of Frontier Gandhi Abdul Gaffar Khan, had come to this side of the border. His wife is the vice-president of the National Democratic Party (NDP).

"What is admirable in your country is that you have not corrupted, not prostituted your basic institutions. They are all intact: your legislatures, your executive and your press", he said in a conversation at Delhi airport on his way back to Pakistan, where he could be put under arrest, as feared by his supporters. Because of democracy, transitions were peaceful in India. "People were hoping they were going to destabilise or imbalance your country. They must have got the shock of their lives". Extracts from the interview:

**Question:** Did you face any problems coming to this country?

**Wali:** This is the first time I am coming here after March 1947.

This was a sad occasion, so there was no problem in getting permission to come, but in the past, my passport used to be stamped "Under no circumstances to be allowed to go to India" for fear I may get endorsement in a third country to come here.

**Q:** Do you fear you may be detained when you reach Pakistan?

**A:** In the region we live, nothing surprises us.

**Q:** What is your comment on the elections that Gen Zia says will be held in March 1985, or so?

**A:** You cannot call them elections.

**Q:** Will you boycott them?

**A:** Boycott is a wrong word. You can only boycott something that is given to you. You cannot boycott something which is not even given to you, which is not even there.

**Q:** You think he is not sincere or he does not want to hold elections.

**A:** No. He will hold elections. But you cannot call them elections. I call them a fraud on the nation. What he is doing is to get legitimacy for his nominated people in the Majlis-e Shoora.

**Q:** How did the people of Pakistan react to the news of the assassination of Mrs Indira Gandhi?

**A:** I do not know. You see there is no way to get a reaction. There is no freedom of the press. And we hardly waited. We got the news about mid-day. The phone was out of order. We had to go to Peshawar to get permission, then the airlines for seats to Delhi. We got the clearance on 1 November. We could not get the tickets till we had the visa, for which we had to come all the way to Islamabad. The embassy was waiting for us. We got the visa and the tickets . . . We left the next morning, so there was no time to talk to anyone, to gauge reactions.

**Q:** The death of Mrs Gandhi will have its impact on Indo-Pakistan relations. How do you think it will affect the situation?

**A:** I do not think so. There is no denying the fact that Indiraji was not only the leader of India, she could easily have been the leader of the whole region. She would have an impact on world politics. On the non-aligned movement. I must say what is admirable in your country is that you have not corrupted, not prostituted your basic institutions. They are all intact. Your legislatures, your execu-

tive and your press. And those are the main institutions that go to support the state structure. So, any transfer of power, whether it is a giant personality like Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru dying, when Shastri takes over, is smooth and peaceful. You have demonstrated it again. People were hoping they were going to destabilise or imbalance your system. They must have got the shock of their life.

**Q:** Among the things that Mrs Gandhi was talking about till the last were the US arming of Pakistan, and the suspected involvement of foreign forces in the trouble in India.

**A:** Our (party) policy in these matters is clear. We say we must be legitimate non-aligned. We do not want to be involved in the power politics of super powers. Plain and simple. There is a saying that when bulls fight, the frogs get crushed. So it is in the interest of the frogs to see that the bulls do not fight at their doorstep. The people of Pakistan have no say in the things that the Government of Pakistan does. It takes its decisions as any martial law regime does, without taking the people of Pakistan with it. So it is the most unpredictable situation as far as their country is concerned.

**Q:** The massive purchases of arms from the US have no sanction from the people of Pakistan?

**A:** The whole policy, everything that is happening in that country does not have the sanction of the people behind it. It is as simple as that. Political parties are not allowed. How do people express their opinion.

**Q:** The President of Pakistan, while in India, made certain statements.

**A:** Please do not call him the President. He is not the President. We have the Chief Martial Law Administrator.

**Q:** The CMLA made a statement in India. In his message and in his tribute he was conciliatory, and then he went back and said something else.

**A:** We, and our party, are quite used to his pronouncements. You are getting a taste of it now for the first time.

**Q:** How about the internal situation in Pakistan. What is the status of the all-party opposition. There had been reports of dissensions, and at one stage, the official press in Pakistan had said your party was quitting the alliance.

**A:** What can the people of a state do when they are confronted with their own army. How do you expect political activity. We have just four provinces of Pakistan. We do not have one country. The conception of a single state is not there. The other day, when we were coming, my wife was arrested at Karachi airport. The police came and surrounded her. She was not allowed to go out of the airport. Our son lives there. She was not allowed to meet her son. These are the conditions in which we are living. The central government permits the lady to go to Delhi for condolence. But she is not allowed

to go outside in Karachi. How do you expect politics, for which you have to have certain conditions, for politicking, for democracy, battles of demands.

**Q:** Is the alliance under strain, are there fears of its breaking up?

**A:** No. Why should it dissolve. The 11 parties are only there to demonstrate to the people of the world and the people that the people of Pakistan are not with this Government.

**Q:** Your party is a constituent still . . .

**A:** She (my wife) will be able to speak better for the party. She is an office-bearer, and I am not. She is the vice-president. I am a humble worker.

**Q:** I presume, you have her permission to speak.

**A:** Laughs aloud, rumbling laughter.

**Q:** About the MRD itself. Is something still happening, or is it all over as reports would have one believe?

**A:** Even now they, the MRD leaders met. My wife went to Peshawar and was told that the MRD meeting would be held at a secret place on 30 and 31 of October. All the people had come, but the people who came were held by the authorities and thrown out. Jatoti from Karachi was thrown out and so were the others.

**Mrs Wali:** We will try to meet again, but the circumstances are such that we cannot do very much . . . We cannot even move a yard ahead.

**Q:** At the grass roots level, there was considerable enthusiasm last year. Could this be sustained?

**A:** The problem is that the MRD is basically the association of different political parties. Political parties can function only in a certain atmosphere. If the leaders are now allowed to move from one place to another, if there is a ban on political meetings, if there is a ban on the press, then how do you expect politics. Any politics. The question you should be asking: When all these doors are closed to the people of Pakistan, what is going to happen. When you ban surface politics, politics will go underground. When you close the constitutional avenues to the people, the people will take to unconstitutional avenues. This is what is happening. People will lose confidence in us, lose confidence in political leaders who are asking them to use legal, political and democratic and constitutional processes. They will be disappointed. And that atmosphere will throw up its own leadership. That will be a naked, bloody revolution.

**Q:** How close is Pakistan to such a situation?

**A:** Your guess is as good as mine. When you push the people to the wall, they will keep on going further back, but when the back is to the wall, they either go down to their knees and cringe, or catch you by the throat.

**Q:** Will they cringe?

**A:** I suppose not. They did not cringe to the British. They did not cringe to any of the dictators who ruled here. Field Marshal Ayub Khan was a Field Marshal, not a mere general, and he was thrown out. So was Bhutto. "Kafi jaan hai un logon mein, ... aise be-jaan nahin" If they are stopped, they find an alternate way ... that will be the most dangerous time.

**Q:** In this wave of fundamentalism that is sweeping the world and specially these areas, what has been the purpose and the impact of Islamisation in Pakistan?

**A:** We are told this is due to the Russians next door, that Islam is the only force that will help them in carrying on the struggle against the Russians. But there is a contradiction. We keep on asking 'are you against the system', or are you against the Russians', and they say 'we are against the system (communism). Then how can it be that when the Chinese President comes to Pakistan, college girls are on the streets to welcome him ... You make the 'dukhtare-Islam' dance before the Chinese and the system, then how are you against the system ... ? You make the girls throw petals and stand to receive a head of a state where the system you say is unislamic. And when the system is in Russia, you pick your gun up. But when it comes from China, you embrace it ... that is the contradiction.

CSO: 4600/1135

REPORTAGE, COMMENT ON RAJIV PERFORMANCE OF DUTIES

Reddy on 12 Nov Speech

Madras THE HINDU in English 13 Nov 84 p 1

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text] NEW DELHI, Nov. 12--The Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, reaffirmed today his steadfast adherence to secularism and socialism on the home front, and non-alignment and anti-colonialism in the conduct of the country's foreign relations to build a politically and economically strong India that could serve as a beacon of peace, stability and harmony in the region. In a nationwide broadcast and telecast tonight, he pledged himself to follow with dedication the lofty policies bequeathed by his mother, who was inspired by her father's vision of a democratic and dynamic, socialist and self-reliant India championing the cause of the poorer nations.

It was basically a sentimental reaffirmation of his determination to uphold the Nehru tradition through continuity and change for facing the many challenges and obstacles to progress with fortitude. He promised to innovate and improve, adapt and reform the country's economic, social, educational and administrative systems to increase productivity through planned development, utilise the country's natural resources prudently, absorb and apply scientific and technological knowledge, and involve the people in creative endeavours to lighten the burdens of the poorer sections.

Nothing New

There was nothing really new in what Mr. Rajiv Gandhi said, but he spoke with confidence as a Prime Minister in his own right, indicating that he had consolidated his position and felt reassured enough to talk of his firm resolve to right the forces of disunity and communalism, of outside pressures and interferences, while warning the corrupt, the lazy and the inefficient that no quarter would be given to them.

He promised to improve the living and working conditions of the weaker sections with a new work-ethic and a new work-culture that is result-oriented and not procedure-bound by encouraging better performance and better quality of service to the people by the administration.

## Poignant Reference

In a poignant reference to the tragic assassination of Indira Gandhi at this grave and critical moment, he said, "It is in moments of crisis that India awakens and responds with clarity and creative endeavour. Out of turmoil must arise an intelligence that builds a vital sense of togetherness, creates order and establishes a deeply human relationship between man and man".

The broadcast was intended to mark the formal commencement of his onerous work from today at the end of the mourning period, although he had been functioning effectively as Prime Minister from the very day he was sworn in within a few hours of Mrs. Gandhi's assassination. It also coincided with his assumption of the dual responsibility of party President.

As Prime Minister holding concurrent charge of foreign affairs, he devoted a good bit of his broadcast to a review of the international scene and India's commitment to non-alignment, anti-colonialism, co-existence, nuclear disarmament and peace. He held out India's hand of friendship not only to the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, but also to China and Pakistan.

He also stressed that India wanted to develop close relations with each one of its immediate neighbours in a spirit of peace, friendship and cooperation. He commended the idea of South Asian regional cooperation based on equality and mutual benefit.

Mr. Rajiv Gandhi also spoke of India's desire for closer political and economic relations with the countries of other regions. He specifically mentioned in this context the countries of the Arab world, South-West and South-East Asia, the Far East and the Pacific, Africa, Latin America, the Caribbean and both Western and Eastern Europe avoiding ideological overtones.

## No Reference to Poll

Though he made no reference at all to the impending parliamentary elections, it was quite evident from the tone and tenor of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's broadcast that an announcement was imminent. He sent his Principal Secretary, Dr. P.C. Alexander, to the Chief Election Commissioner, Mr. R. K. Trivedi, to discuss tentative poll dates.

The way he went about immediately after his assumption of presidentship of the Congress (I) reconstituting the Working Committee and Parliamentary Board, and setting up the campaign committee and manifesto committee indicated that an announcement of the election date could be expected soon. He also appointed one of his close confidants, Mr. Arun Nehru, who has been processing the lists of candidates, as the principal General Secretary in his place, besides inducing another confidant, Mr. Arun Singh, as a Parliamentary Secretary which will enable him to function as a political adviser to the Prime Minister from within the Government. Another close confidant, Mr. H. L. Fotedar, was appointed Political Secretary to look after party matters from his office.



He also met the Congress (I) Chief Ministers, PCC(I) Presidents and leaders of Congress (I) legislature parties from different States to get their assessment of the party prospects, besides discussing the campaign problems with them. Though he did not take them into confidence about the exact date, they got the impression that the elections will be held on schedule well before the end of the present Lok Sabha's tenure.

The Opposition leaders watched Mr. Rajiv Gandhi very carefully during the telecast to assess his potentialities and performance. And they wanted to size up the young Prime Minister to see whether he had the capacity to transform public sympathy into votes in the forthcoming elections.

#### Elected Congress-I President

Madras THE HINDU in English 13 Nov 84 p 9

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Nov. 12.

Mr. Rajiv Gandhi was today elected President of the Congress (I) and will, hold charge, like Mrs. Gandhi, of the posts of Prime Minister and party chief. Soon after he announced new office-bearers, inducting Mr. Arun Nehru, MP, as one of the general secretaries. There was no other major change in the top echelons of the party, except that the existing vacancies were filled by new appointees.

The election of Mr. Gandhi by the Working Committee which, under the party constitution, is competent to fill the midterm vacancy, was a smooth affair. The party working president, Mr. Kamalapati Tripathi, moved a brief resolution on the subject which was unanimously adopted. It authorised Mr. Gandhi to appoint a new Working Committee and Parliamentary Board. The meeting was also attended by the Chief Ministers of party-ruled States, presidents of State units and leaders of Congress (I) Legislature Parties.

Mr. Tripathi will continue as working President. As general secretary, Mr. Nehru will look after the subjects including supervision of frontal organisations. The other six general secretaries are: Mr. G. K. Mooppanar, Mrs. Rajendra Kumari Bajpai, Mr. Chandulal Chandrakar, Mr. Abdul Gaffoor, Mr. A. K. Anthony and Mr. Chand Ram.

**New CWC members:** The new 11-member Working Committee includes seniors of the outgoing body like Mr. Tripathi, Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao, Home Minister, Mr. Pranab Mukherjee, Finance Minister, Mrs. Maragatham Chandrasekhar, MP, Mr. Darbara Singh, former Punjab Chief Minister, Mr. B. Shankaranand, Health Minister, Mr. J. B. Patnaik, Orissa Chief Minister and Mr. Gundu Rao, former Karnataka Chief Minister. The new members are Mr. A. B. A. Ghani Khan Chaudhury, Railway Minister, Mr. K. Karunakaran, Kerala Chief Minister and Mr. Hiteswar Saikia, Assam Chief Minister. Mr. Saikia replaces Mr. Maham Singh, Meghalaya MLA, who has been dropped because of his advanced age. As in the past, the general secretaries will continue to be ex-officio members of the Working Committee.

Mr. Tripathi, Mr. Rao, Mr. Mukherjee and Mrs. Chandrasekar will continue to be in the new Central Parliamentary Board, along with three new members, Mr. Chaudhury, Mr. Darbara Singh and Mr. Karunakaran. Mr. Sitram Kesari remains party treasurer. There are nine joint secretaries as before.

**Two new committees:** Mr. Gandhi appointed two new bodies—the election manifesto committee and the campaign committee. The manifesto committee headed by Mr. Rao includes Mr. Mukherjee, Mr. Y. B. Chavan, former Deputy Prime Minister, Mr. Arjun Singh, Madhya Pradesh Chief Minister, Mr. K. C. Pant, former Union Minister and Mr. Bansi Lal, former Defence Minister. The inclusion of Mr. Chavan, Mr. Pant and Mr. Bansi Lal is significant—the first two had joined the Congress (I) after the last Lok Sabha poll and got positions of responsibility in the party for the first time, while Mr. Bansi Lal had been on the sidelines because of factional reason in the last five years.

Headed by Mr. Tripathi, the 27-member campaign committee has Mr. Mukherjee as its convener and includes Mr. Rao, Mr. K. Brahmananda Reddi, former Union Minister, Mr. G. S. Dhillon, former Lok Sabha Speaker, Mr. V. C. Sukhla, former Union Minister, Mr. A. R. Antulay, former Maharashtra Chief Minister, Mr. Jagannath Mishra, former Bihar Chief Minister, Mr. Sivaji Ganesan from Tamil Nadu and Mr. Kamalappa from Karnataka.

After the election of Mr. Gandhi, the meeting reviewed the political situation in the country, with most participants urging that the Lok Sabha elections be held on schedule. They reported a mass upsurge in favour of the Congress (I). The representatives from Tamil Nadu were hopeful that the Congress (I), in cooperation with the AIADMK, would improve upon its performance in the 1980 elections. Mr. Mukherjee predicted a better showing in West Bengal.

Thanking the members for the trust reposed in him, Mr. Gandhi pledged to do his best in discharging his new responsibilities. He reminded them of the warnings of Mrs. Gandhi in regard to dangers facing the country, adding

that they had to realise the import of what she had been saying. The Opposition, he said, was playing into the hands of disruptive forces, seeking to disintegrate the country. Extremists from within and outside were at work to destabilise the country, he said.

**Rath quits party:** Mr. Ramchandra Rath, former Minister of State for Chemicals and Fertilizers, who was not included in the new Council of Ministers by Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, resigned from the Congress (I) today.

In a letter to the working president, he said, he was quitting the party after the sad demise of Mrs. Gandhi. He gave no reasons.

Mr. Rath who is from Orissa had been spearheading a bitter campaign against the State Chief Minister, Mr. J. B. Patnaik.

**PTI and UNI report:**

Mr. Rajiv Gandhi was not present when the resolution was adopted but came soon after and amidst a thunderous applause, took over the leadership of the party.

**Election hailed:** The Congress (I) Parliamentary Party has hailed the election of Mr. Gandhi as party president.

A press release issued in New Delhi by the Party said this reflected the will of the people and the desire of the Congressmen in the country.

**Parliamentary Secretary to PM:** Mr. Arun Singh, MP, was sworn in this evening as the Parliamentary Secretary to the Prime Minister. Mr. Rajiv Gandhi administered the oath of office and secrecy in Hindi at a simple ceremony in his office at South Block.

Mr. H. Y. Sharda Prasad will continue to be the Information Adviser and Mr. R. K. Dhawan as the Special Assistant to the Prime Minister.

Mr. Sharda Prasad will hold his present rank of Additional Secretary while Mr. Dhawan will retain the rank of Joint Secretary.

CSO: 4600/1136

## MORE DETAILS, COMMENT ON LOK SABHA ELECTIONS

## State Election Plans

Madras THE HINDU in English 14 Nov 84 p 1

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Nov. 13.

The Lok Sabha elections will be held on December 24 and 27 in all States except Punjab and Assam, the Chief Election Commissioner, Mr. R. K. Trivedi, announced today. The results will be known from the evening of December 28 onwards.

The elections will be formally notified by the President on Nov. 20. The rest of the schedule, indicated by Mr. Trivedi at a crowded press conference, is as follows: Last date for filing nominations Nov. 27, scrutiny Nov. 28 and deadline for withdrawal of candidature Nov. 30. Two days have been fixed for the poll because several State Governments have expressed their inability to complete the election on a single day owing to law and order problems.

The Commission, Mr. Trivedi said, would be persuading as many States as possible to finish the poll on one day and had called another meeting on Nov. 17 and 19. Among the States which wanted two-day poll were: U.P., Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan.

Elections to the Tamil Nadu Assembly will be held along with those to the Lok Sabha (on Dec. 24) and the poll alliance between the AIADMK and the Congress (I) forged during the last by-elections to the State Assembly will continue. (This was decided at a meeting a five-member delegation of the AIADMK had with Congress (I) leaders here this evening). The Assembly's term ends only in June, 1985.

Of the 542 seats of the Lok Sabha, elections will be held for 515—excluding 13 seats of Punjab and 14 of Assam. It was for the first time that two States would be specifically excluded from the election process at the notification stage. The reasons for the two States, as given by Mr. Trivedi, were different.

**No poll now in Punjab, Assam**

As regards Punjab, he said that till recently, it was considered possible to have the elections but the recent unfortunate events had changed the complexion. The Commission, on the basis of its assessment and in consultation with the authorities concerned had decided

against holding the poll there, he said. In Assam, intensive revision of electoral rolls had already been initiated in accordance with the Supreme Court verdict. This process would take four to five months and a separate notification for the State would have to be issued later.

Simultaneous elections will also be held for the Assemblies of Manipur, and the Union Territories of Arunachal Pradesh and Goa, Daman and Diu. This is because the term of the present Assemblies there is due to end soon—on Feb. 18 in Manipur, on Jan 28 in Arunachal Pradesh and on Jan. 21 in Goa, Daman and Diu. Sikkim and Pondicherry could go to the polls only if the Government decided to revoke the President's rule there.

The Commission, Mr. Trivedi said, would be in a position to hold simultaneous Assembly elections in Tamil Nadu—and any other State where the present House might be dissolved—if formal indications were received in a couple of days. The Chief Electoral Officer of Tamil Nadu, according to Mr. Trivedi, had told the Commission of the possibility of the Assembly being dissolved there, but there was no formal communication yet.

**No symbol for DMKP**

The Commission will be informing the recognised political parties of the poll schedule. They will, thus, have an advance notice of eight days. There is no change in the symbols allotted to seven national parties, the Congress (I), CPI(M), CPI, Congress (S), BJP, Janata Party and Lok Dal. The newly-formed DMKP is not registered with the Commission and, therefore, will not get a symbol as such. The Commission has also released the symbols for 31 State parties and the list of free symbols.

At present 41 Assembly by-elections are due mostly in States which are due to have regular Assembly elections in May or June, next year, apart from Assam and Punjab. Excluding these States, the Commission is left with four by-elections—one each in Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, West Bengal and Himachal Pradesh—which will be gone through along with

the Lok Sabha poll.

Some time ago, the Chief Election Commissioner had recommended the appointment of Regional Commissioners for a closer watch on the election processes. There has been no response from the Centre so far.

The new Lok Sabha will be constituted well before the expiry of the term of the present House, on January 20 next year. The present House, however, will remain in existence till the last day of its life even though the new one will be elected.

Mr. Trivedi said the Commission had decided on the schedule on its own, after consulting the authorities concerned. Asked if he had met the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, he replied in the negative.

### Arrangements over

A press release circulated at the press conference said: "The Commission has been holding discussions and correspondence with the Chief Electoral Officers and the law and order enforcement authorities in various States and

the Central Government on various matters connected with the ensuing general election to the Lok Sabha. The discussions have just been completed.

It added: "The Commission proposes to have further consultations with the Chief Secretaries, Chief Electoral Officers and the Directors-General and Inspectors-General of Police of every State and Union Territory regionwise on November 17 and 19 on various matters connected with the arrangements for the conduct of poll. After such discussions the decision will be taken as to which of the States will have to go for two-day poll. The Commission's endeavour is to have a single day poll in as many States, as far as practicable, and in all Union Territories keeping in view the present law and order situation.

"With all arrangements like procurement of materials, etc., now being complete, the election machinery is ready to go through the process of election. The recognised political parties are being informed of the programme of election."

### Congress-I Plans Discussed

Madras THE HINDU in English 14 Nov 84 p 9

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Nov. 13.

The Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, has opted for an early Lok Sabha poll on December 24 and 27, a good 10 days earlier than January 3 and 5 tentatively decided upon by Mrs. Indira Gandhi before her assassination.

The decision of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi was informally communicated yesterday to the Chief Election Commissioner, Mr. R. K. Trivedi, by the Prime Minister's Principal Secretary, Dr. P. C. Alexander, and the dates were officially confirmed today after the Political Affairs Committee of the Cabinet met to finalise the poll schedule in consultation with him.

After he got the green signal from the Government, Mr. Trivedi announced the poll dates, disclosing that the notification by the President setting the electoral process in motion will be issued on November 20.

**Surprise on Opposition:** The poll has been advanced evidently to take full advantage of the present wave of public sympathy for Mr. Rajiv Gandhi in the wake of his mother's brutal murder while the memory of this traumatic event is still fresh in the minds of the people. It is also intended to spring a surprise on the squabbling Opposition parties which have not been able so far to arrive at any electoral adjustments to confront the Congress (I) with direct contests in as many as possible of the 515 out of the total 540 Lok Sabha constituencies involved in these elections.

The election schedule announced today is so close that there is very little time left for them to engage in detailed discussions to get over their differences. But the Opposition parties may still succeed in patching up their dis-

cords to meet the deadline for filing nominations.

**Lists ready:** The Congress (I), on the other hand, has been ready with the lists of its candidates subject to some last-minute changes, besides getting together jeeps and other vehicles, posters and other publicity material for the campaign, and earmarking enormous amounts of money for financing these elections. The colour posters of Mrs. Gandhi, printed well in advance when she was alive, to use the magic spell of her name for getting votes, are lying stacked in godowns ready to be despatched to different States at short notice.

Though it was quite clear from the beginning that it would not be possible to hold parliamentary election in Assam by revising the electoral rolls in time in fulfilment of the assurance given to the Supreme Court, the Centre was still toying with the idea of having the election in Punjab along with other States. But after the latest communal upheaval in the North in the aftermath of Mrs. Gandhi's assassination, the idea has been dropped to avoid the risk of renewed violence.

The Assembly elections in nine States—Bihar, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Orissa, Punjab, Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu and Uttar Pradesh—are due by the middle of 1985. But Tamil Nadu has been wanting to advance the poll by six months to coincide with the Lok Sabha elections.

The present Lok Sabha will be completing its full five-year tenure on January 20, when it will be automatically dissolved whether or not the elections are formally constituted in

time. There is also no question of dissolving the outgoing Lok Sabha before the issue of the notification, since this is not a mid-term poll but a normal one taking place in the ordinary course.

For the first time after the 1967 elections, the country will be going to the polls to elect a new Lok Sabha on completion of the full five-year term of the outgoing House. In 1971, 1977 and 1980 the parliamentary elections were held following dissolution of the existing Lok Sabha in each case.

**An Indira poll:** The coming poll would not have attracted special attention had it not been for the sad circumstances in which it is taking place. Though Mrs. Gandhi is no longer there to campaign for her party, it will be very much an Indira election with her son speaking for her and asking for a mandate to complete her unfinished tasks so cruelly cut short by her assassination.

The main interest in the Congress (I)'s campaign will be focussed on Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's capacity to fill the void and carry her message to the people to get his party candidates elected in her name. It is going to be an extraordinary election in this sense, with the ruling party relying heavily on sentimental appeal to mobilise support, while the Opposition parties will be speaking with different voices.

If he is elected with a comfortable majority as he expects, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi will almost certainly go in for some far-reaching changes in his Cabinet. The choice of party candidates, especially the ratio between new and old faces, will be indicative of what he proposes to do after the elections.

## Congress (I) hopeful

NEW DELHI, Nov. 13.

Both the Congress (I) and the Opposition sought to project an image of confidence, after the poll schedule was announced today.

The new Congress (I) General Secretary, Mr. Arun Nehru, said that the "very good" performance of the party in the last four years was bound to be reflected in the election results. They would be fielding good people as candidates, he said adding, though youth were encouraged, the party had not gone by the age factor in its choice of contestants.

Asked how would the party feel in the absence of a dynamic leader, Indira Gandhi, he said that she would be "always with us". Referring to the Opposition, Mr. Arun Nehru said, he did not know who was the main opponent of the Congress (I) at the polls as they were changing their labels.

In the Opposition camp, Mr. Charan Singh, DMKP leader, welcomed the announcement of the poll dates.

**State panels:** The Congress (I) also set up Pradesh Election Committees in 11 States at a meeting of the AICC(I) General Secretaries, headed by the party president, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi. The committees for the remaining States will be finalised tomorrow.

The States for which the committees were constituted today are: Karnataka, Gujarat, Rajasthan, Himachal Pradesh, Bihar, Haryana, Mizoram, Maharashtra and West Bengal. In Karnataka the coordination committee that was to be set up for the overall supervision of the election work, would also select party candidates.

The State committees were being asked to submit their list of candidates by November 16 for consideration by the Central Parliamentary Board.

CSO: 4600/1139

## RAJIV DIRECTS PROTEST TO PAKISTAN

Madras THE HINDU in English 14 Nov 84 p 9

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Nov. 13.

The Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, is adopting a tough stance towards Pakistan to voice India's strong resentment to that country's open encouragement to the so-called Khalistan campaign being carried on by Sikh extremists abroad who have been preaching violence.

As Minister in charge of External Affairs, he has directed the Ministry to convey India's displeasure to Pakistan over the manner in which it had permitted anti-India tirades by these pro-Khalistan elements during Guru Nanak birthday celebrations, quite contrary to the spirit of the assurances of non-interference given by Gen. Zia-ul-Haq during his recent visit to Delhi.

The Sikh extremists from various countries had been permitted to misuse this religious occasion to intimidate the Sikh pilgrims from India who refused to participate in this hostile campaign and even assaulted the two liaison officers sent from Delhi to assist the pilgrims. They not only indulged in inflammatory speeches, distributing objectionable propaganda material and audio cassette tapes glorifying Indira Gandhi's assassination, but also fraternised with the Pakistan officials present.

These anti-Indian elements were lionised in Pakistan as though they were great patriots fighting for their freedom, not secessionist elements engaged in a campaign of senseless violence.

There is no question of any resumption of the interrupted dialogue with Pakistan in these circumstances. And any provocation in the form of border incidents in Kashmir or elsewhere will be dealt with severely to teach Pakistan a proper lesson.

The Prime Minister has asked the External Affairs Ministry to take suitable steps to intensify India's publicity campaign abroad to fight the Khalistan propaganda backed by countries like Pakistan. He wanted the Indian embassies to project the country's image in its proper perspective without concentrating only on the negative aspects of fighting anti-Indian propaganda in the West.

He wanted Indian diplomats to pay more attention to the non-aligned movement by striving for greater cohesion and cooperation among member-States. As chairman of NAM, India has to bear the main responsibility for infusing greater dynamism into the movement.

CSO: 4600/1139

## RAJIV TAKES STAND ON CRISIS IN CENTRAL AMERICA

Madras THE HINDU in English 15 Nov 84 p 9

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Nov. 14.

The Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, made his first major foray into foreign affairs today by voicing grave concern at the escalating conflict in and around Nicaragua in Central America, in his concurrent capacity as Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement.

He hoped that the coordination bureau of NAM would meet shortly in New York to discuss the Central American situation, since the security of a member-country of the community was involved in it.

The Prime Minister did not blame the United States or the Soviet Union for the escalation of the crisis in Central America, but referred to the threats posed to the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the countries in the area in a statement he issued on the subject.

He said: "We hope for an early easing of tensions in the area and the resumption of a process of discussion and negotiation so that understanding and accords can be worked out which would ensure that the countries of the region live in peace and decide their own future free from outside intervention and interference".

The permanent representative of India at the United Nations, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi said, was in close contact with other members of the bureau to see what could be done by the non-aligned community to help Nicaragua in its present plight. The Contadora process initiated by

Mexico, Venezuela and other countries in the region, still represented, in his view, the best opportunity for arriving at a lasting solution.

**A surprise**

The U.S. Embassy and its supporters in the diplomatic corps in Delhi were somewhat surprised by the timing of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's intervention in this Central American tangle amidst his pressing preoccupations on the home front. But the Soviet bloc countries were pleasantly surprised over his implied criticism of the U.S. interventionist policies in the region.

The non-aligned countries were happy to note that the new Prime Minister of India was not neglecting India's role as Chairman of the community and that Mr. Rajiv Gandhi had not hesitated to speak out boldly against the threats to global peace and security posed by the escalating crisis in Central America, which was an area of vital concern to the movement.

The Indian officials were, however, playing down the significance of the Prime Minister's statement saying that it merely represented a continuity of India's policy of opposing foreign intervention or interference in the internal affairs of other countries and urging a settlement of all disputes peacefully through negotiations. It was pointed out that this policy was adequately reflected in his broadcast which reaffirmed India's firm commitment to the guiding principles of non-alignment, peaceful co-existence and non-interference in the conduct of its international relations.

CSO: 4600/1144

## MANEKA GANDHI TO RUN FOR RAJIV'S AMETHI SEAT

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 15 Nov 84 p 1

[Text] NEW DELHI, November 14--MRS. Maneka Gandhi, president of the Rashtriya Sanjay Manch, declared here today that she would contest from Amethi against the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, her brother-in-law.

Describing as "over-rated" the sympathy for the Congress in the wake of the assassination of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Mrs. Maneka Gandhi claimed that the opposition parties had agreed to support her as the common candidate in Amethi Lok Sabha constituency.

Seated beside her at the press conference this afternoon was Mr. J. B. Dhote, who after his expulsion from the Congress, has now become an "associate member" of the RSM. Mr. Dhote was himself rather vague about his future course of action and said that while he and his friends would support RSM candidates in the coming elections, he was also thinking of forming a new party. He might reveal his intentions at a press conference he is scheduled to address tomorrow.

Mrs. Maneka Gandhi ruled out contesting from a second constituency for ensuring her election to the Lok Sabha. She replied in the affirmative when asked whether she was confident about winning from Amethi.

"He is an Amateur"

Replying to a question on the reported indifference of the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, towards the RSM, she remarked, "He is an amateur."

She also claimed that she had received a note from Mr. Charan Singh, president of the Dalit Mazdoor Kisan Party (DMKP), saying that he would not stake his claim for prime minister in the event of the opposition coming to power.

"With this there should be no major obstacle for the formation of an opposition front on which the RSM is keen," Mrs. Maneka Gandhi observed. She felt that the opposition could defeat the Congress "if it formed a united front even at this stage."

She said that the RSM proposed to contest 65 seats in U.P. and had decided to field Mr. Akbar Ahmed ("Dumpy") from Nainital. The RSM also proposes to field candidates from Vidarbha region in Maharashtra and from Bombay, as also from Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka.



## BRIEFS

ANDHRA PRADESH MINISTERS--HYDERABAD, Nov. 12--The Andhra Pradesh Ministry was expanded today, with the induction of 11 more Ministers taking the total to 27. The Governor, Dr. Shankar Dayal Sharma, administered the oath of office and secrecy to the new Ministers. Cabinet Ministers: Mr. Vasantha Nageswara Rao (Nandigamada-Krishna Dt) Agriculture and Command Area Development. Mr. Annahathuni Satyanarayana, (Tenali, Guntur dist.) Food and Civil Supplies. Mr. Ankem Prabhakara Rao (Malleswaram, Krishna dt) Labour, Employment and Technical Education. Mr. S. Ramachandra Reddi (Penukonda, Anantapur dt) Animal Husbandry, Fisheries and Sericulture Development. Mr. B. V. Mohan Reddi (Yemmiganur, Kurnool dt) Roads and Buildings. Mr. Nimma Raja Reddi (Cherial, Warangal dt) Handlooms and Textiles. Mr. Areti Kotiah (Santhanatalapadu, Prakasam dt) Marketing, Weights and Measures. Ministers of State: Mr. Boyina Rajiah (Salur ST. Srikakulam dt) Scheduled Tribes Welfare, Girijan Corporation and Girijan Cooperative Finance Corporation. Mr. Mothkupalli Narasimhulu (Alair, Nalgonda dt) Mines and Geology. Mr. P. Chandrasekhar (Mahbubnagar) Law, Courts and Legislative Affairs. Mr. Sripathi Rajeswar (Musheerabad in Hyderabad City) Tourist Development Corporation, flying clubs, and cultural affairs. [Excerpt] [Madras THE HINDU in English 13 Nov 84 p 1]

NEW UNION MINISTERS--NEW DELHI, Nov. 12--Three Union Ministers of State including the new entrant, Mr. Nawal Kishore Sharma, PCC (I) President of Rajasthan, and a Deputy Minister were sworn in at Rashtrapati Bhavan this morning by the President, Mr. Zail Sing. Apart from Mr. Sharma, they are: Mr. Arif Mohammed Khan and Mr. N. R. Laskar, Ministers of State and Mr. Ashok Gehlot, Deputy Minister in the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's Ministry. All took the oath in Hindi apart from Mr. Laskar who preferred English. The Vice-President, Mr. R. Venkataraman, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, a few Union Ministers including Mr. Buta Singh, Mr. Vijayabhaskara Reddi and Mr. Shiv Shankar, were present at the ceremony held in the yellow drawing room of Rashtrapati Bhavan. Mr. Sharma will be the new Minister of State for Finance, while Mr. Arif Mohammed Khan and Mr. Laskar have been allocated Energy and Industry respectively, the portfolios held by them in Mrs. Gandhi's Ministry. Mr. Gehlot will be the Deputy Minister for Sports. With the induction of the four the Ministry's strength goes up to 49, including 14 of Cabinet rank, seven Ministers of State with independent charge, 17 Ministers of State and 11 Deputy Ministers. Four Cabinet Ministers were sworn in along with Mr. Rajiv Gandhi on October 31, the day Mrs. Gandhi was assassinated. The Cabinet was expanded on November 4 but the four Ministers who were sworn in today were away from the capital. [Text] [Madras THE HINDU in English 13 Nov 84 p 9]

DMKP CENTRAL BOARD--NEW DELHI, Nov. 13--The Dalit Mazdoor Kisan Party today announced the formation of a 15-member Central Parliamentary Board, to be headed by the party chief, Mr Charan Singh. In view of the announcement of the date of elections to the Lok Sabha, the board is expected to meet shortly to finalize its strategy to select candidates for the various States. Simultaneously, the board bilities of seat adjustments with varies parties. Apart from Mr Charan Singh, the other members of the board are Syed Mir Qasim, Mr Devi Lal, Mr H. N. Bahuguna, Mr Karpoori Thakur, Mr Nahut Ram Mirdha, Mr K. A. Shivaramabharthy, Mr Mulayam Singh Yadav, Mr Upendra Nath Verma, Mr Rajendra Singh, Mr Rameshwar Singh, Mr Tulsi Singh, Mr Raghuvansh Prasad Singh, Mr Sharad Yadav and Mr Satya Prakash Malaviya. Mr Malaviya will act as secretary of the board. In Bhubaneswar, reports PTI, Mr Charan Singh today said that the nomination of the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, as president of the Congress (I) only confirmed suspicions that there was a deliberate attempt to perpetuate dynastic rule. [Text] [Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 14 Nov 84 p 9]

TIBETAN YOUTH CONGRESS--NEW DELHI, Oct. 28--A resolution adopted by the 14th working committee meeting of the Tibetan Youth Congress, which met in Dharamsala for five days from October 18, has reaffirmed that the TYC "will not accept anything short of complete independence for Tibet whatever the Tibetan delegation currently visiting China may discuss or decide". The gist of the resolutions adopted by the meeting held at the "temporary headquarters of the Tibetan Government-in exile", was made available here yesterday. They said: "The TYC will not accept any autonomy proposal". The meeting condemned "the so-called" economic reforms announced by the Chinese Government-in-Tibet as it was not meant to bring economic development in Tibet. The much-publicized announcement of the Chinese Government to withdraw 85% of Chinese officials from Tibet was "a farce". Even four years after the announcement the Chinese have not fulfilled their promises. The meeting unanimously resolved to appeal to the Dalai Lama not to visit Tibet in 1985. [Text] [Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 29 Oct 84 p 6]

FAROOQ ABDULLAH PLEDGE--Jammu, Nov. 6 (UNI)--The National Conference headed by Dr Farooq Abdullah today extended full support to the Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, in maintaining peace, communal harmony and brotherhood. In a joint statement, 12 senior party leaders said they appreciated the measures taken by the Union government for maintaining communal harmony and assured full cooperation to the Prime Minister. [Text] [Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 7 Nov 84 p 5]

CSO: 4600/1137

OFFICIAL COMMENTS ON ABROGATION OF TREATIES WITH USSR, U.S.

Tehran JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI in Persian 11 Nov 84 p 11

[Text] /Mr Mojtaba Mir Mehdi, the deputy minister for legal and parliamentary affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, spoke about the abrogation of former military treaties with the United States and the USSR, which took place on 10 November 1979 in an interview with the IRNA correspondent on the anniversary of the abrogation of these treaties/ [in boldface]. First, expressing the importance of the principle of neither East nor West in the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran, he said: The constitution has declared in its articles that the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran is based on the negation of any sort of domination.

The principle of neither East nor West was among the first slogans of the magnificent revolution of 11 February spoken by the nation. This principle, in fact, is the basis of our foreign policy.

He said: In the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran, no true commitment to the superpowers is among the glories of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Certainly, if we define commitment precisely, our country is at the top of the non-aligned countries. Therefore, we must say that non-alignment is also a bright reflection of the principle of neither East nor West.

He added: On 10 November 1979, the Islamic Revolution Council of Iran, headed by the oppressed martyr Ayatollah Beheshti, decided to abrogate and declare invalid the agreements which Iran had signed with the two superpowers. This date was the beginning of the establishment of the independent policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran in foreign policy. Responding to a question concerning the agreement with the United States which Iran has abrogated and declared invalid, Mr Mir Mehdi said: The most essential and important of these agreements with the United States which the Revolution Council abrogated was the agreement

on military cooperation between Iran and the United States dated 5 March 1959. This agreement was, in fact, considered a link for the U.S. government with CENTO. Therefore, in this regard, too, the action of the Revolution Council is considered essential.

He pointed out, before this date, the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran had already abrogated the law for the security of U.S. advisors as well as the law permitting the hiring of a delegation of U.S. military officers and non-commissioned officers.

Besides the above-mentioned military agreements, we must also point out another agreement between the previous regime and the United States, which was called the 1955 friendship treaty between Iran and the United States. Although in light of the open and secret hostility of the United States toward the Islamic Republic of Iran, to the extent of direct military interference in Tabas, speaking of a friendship treaty is more like a joke, since what is meant here is to speak of the issue from the standpoint of international law, briefly it must be pointed out that after the occurrence during the Islamic revolution of the occupation of the U.S. spy nest in Iran and the severance of diplomatic relations, the basis of relations between Iran and the United States was severed and the 1955 friendship treaty would no longer exist. Especially, after the refusal of the U.S. government to carry out its commitments and after the freezing of Iran's assets, and so on, this treaty was automatically invalidated. Concerning the treaties with the USSR which were declared abrogated and invalid on 10 November 1979, he said: The Islamic Revolution Council of Iran, following the same principle of neither East nor West, on 10 November 1979, implemented similar actions to those concerning the United States. Chapters 5 and 6 of the Iran-USSR friendship treaty of 1921, which had recognized unilateral privileges for the government of the USSR concerning military interference in Iran, was immediately considered totally invalid. Chapter 5 of the friendship treaty placed restrictions on military activities of the Iranian army on Iranian soil and Chapter 6 had granted the USSR permission to send its army to Iran whenever the forces of a third country created a threat for the USSR and its allies in Iran.

The contents of these two chapters are contrary to international laws for various reasons, for instance, the arbitrariness of the above-mentioned treaty, the opposition of the above-mentioned chapters to the charter of the United Nations, and also the fact that changes have occurred since the treaty was signed make this an unfair treaty.

He also said: In implementing the instructions of the Revolution Council, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in a note to the embassy of the USSR in Tehran, officially declared the abrogation

of the above chapters in the treaty, and later in August 1981, this note was registered by the representative of the Islamic Republic of Iran at the United Nations in New York and was distributed among all the members of the United Nations.

10,000

CSO: 4640/149

IRAN

## INTERIOR MINISTER INTERVIEWED ON SIGNIFICANT ISSUES

Tehran JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI in Persian 31 Oct 84 p 11

[Excerpts of interview with Minister of the Interior Hojjat ol-Eslam Nateq-Nuri by JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI on 30 Oct 84 in Tehran]

[Excerpts] Hojjat ol-Eslam Nateq-Nuri, the minister of the interior, responded for three hours yesterday to about 50 questions by the people in an interview with a group of correspondents of JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI.

In this interview, which took place in the Ministry of the Interior building, all the questions of the people were asked of him, and he responded to each. Today, the text of this interview is printed below for our dear readers.

JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI: We thank you for giving us your time to ask you the questions raised by the people and to provide the people with the necessary answers through the newspaper. If you agree, we will begin with the questions.

What Are the Duties of the Ministry of Interior?

[Question] The first question is, please explain the duties of the Ministry of the Interior, its activities and also the offices and organizations under the auspices of this Ministry.

Minister of the Interior: In the name of God the compassionate and the merciful.

The Ministry of the Interior, as its name indicates, covers the whole country, with all its problems. But it is essentially a ministry responsible for the political issues and security of the country. The people know more or less the organizational structure of the Ministry of the Interior. The Ministry is the central office, and under the present circumstances, we have 24

provinces. Of course, after the ratification of the new national divisions, the provincial divisions might change.

Also, this Ministry covers a large number of governors' offices, municipal offices, and district offices.

The governors general are the high ranking political representatives of the government in the provinces. The governors general are selected as follows. First, they are chosen by the minister of the interior; then they are presented to the Cabinet; and then, with the approval of the Cabinet, they are appointed to this position. In this sense, a governor general is the representative of all the ministers and the high ranking representative of the government.

A governor general is also a government inspector over the offices of the province; he also supervises other government organizations; and he is the head of the security council of the province.

The law enforcement responsibility for the whole country rests with the Ministry of the Interior, which includes the Police Department, the gendarmerie, and the Islamic revolution committees. The task of each of these law enforcement agencies is known to all the people. The Police Department is responsible for urban law enforcement; highways, non-urban areas, and the borders are protected by the gendarmerie; and the Islamic revolution committees, which were born of the revolution, are responsible for law enforcement in the cities and for fighting counterrevolutionaries. Therefore, our security responsibilities range from cities to borders.

Another responsibility of the Ministry of the Interior is the management of the city halls, which in the future, with the ratification of the law for the councils, will be conferred on the people.

Another task of the Ministry of the Interior is to admit political refugees. That is, when refugees enter the country from the borders, the border guards receive them and quarantine them so that the intelligence agencies can carry out the necessary investigations. After the necessary investigations, they are transferred to the Red Crescent and are kept in specified camps.

Among our other duties, in regard to the Afghan refugees, is that these refugees are administered by the Afghan council, which is under the supervision of the Ministry of the Interior. Also, the reconstruction of war-stricken areas has been conferred on us and we carry out this duty.

The war refugees are also administered through the Ministry of the Interior, which is, naturally, responsible for the foundation for the affairs of the war refugees.

These offices as well as other organizations, including the national registration and document office, are among the offices affiliated with the Ministry of the Interior.

Why Is It Difficult to Grant Green Cards to Iraqi Returnees?

Question: Granting green cards to Iraqi returnees is very difficult at present. Why?

Minister of the Interior: The Iraqi returnee brothers and sisters belong to several groups. One group includes those who came to Iran earlier or those Iraqis who have come from other countries and hold official passports. There is no problem in granting green cards to this group of brothers and sisters. Also, those returnees who were expelled by the regime of Iraq and who have no documents are immediately, upon the necessary identification and approval by an organization or the high Islamic revolutionary Majlis of Iraq, given green cards.

On the whole, the granting of green cards to these two groups faces few problems and once they are approved, they are given green cards. However, perhaps the problem of the individual who has asked the question is other than what has been said, in which case, he has reached an impasse and has not been able to receive a green card. But if the person belongs to one of the two groups mentioned and his problem has not yet been resolved, he can go to the office of aliens in the Ministry of the Interior in order for the problem to be solved quickly.

Is There Any Connection Between the Dismissal of the Minister of the Interior of Turkey and His Visit to Iran?

Question: Considering that the dismissal of 'Ali Tanriyar, the minister of the interior of Turkey, was simultaneous with his discussions with you, is there any connection between his visit and his dismissal?

Minister of the Interior: In this connection, one cannot say anything for certain. In fact, we do not know the main reason for his dismissal. He came to Iran at the head of a high ranking delegation and we held a series of negotiations concerning border issues. Essentially, the purpose of this delegation's visit was to bring a message from President Kenan Evren of Turkey to Hojjat ol-Eslam Khamene'i, the honorable president of our country, and also to state that Turkey had not entered Iraqi territory. But issues concerning the border areas of Iran and Turkey were also discussed, which will continue in future visits.



In any case, I do not know the reason for his dismissal or resignation, and I truly do not know whether it was connected with this visit or over domestic issues in Turkey.

What About the Simultaneous Execution of 33 Smugglers?

Question: Why was the execution of 33 smugglers in Zahedan carried out at a time when thousands of smugglers had announced their readiness to surrender to law enforcement agencies?

Minister of the Interior: I prefer this question to be asked of the judicial branch, not only because letters of amnesty are issued by the judicial branch but also because the recent execution rulings were carried out by that branch.

Is There a Possibility for the Combination of Law Enforcement Agencies?

Question: Is there a possibility for combining the law enforcement agencies and establishing a single force?

Minister of the Interior: Yes, we began to think about this issue two years ago and I myself made a proposal. The necessary studies have been made on the law enforcement agencies, made up of the Police Department, the Islamic revolution committees, and the gendarmerie, and joint sessions were also held over the course of several months to study this issue. In other words, each of these forces offered plans for such a combination which were used and will be presented to the Majlis upon completion as a bill.

The Situation of Luna Park and Eram Park Is Very Chaotic

Question: Why are Eram and Luna Parks open from dusk until midnight without any law enforcement agencies to keep watch there? It is possible that crimes against morality freely occur in these places.

Minister of the Interior: The problem of Eram Park and Luna Park is the responsibility of the foundation for the oppressed, which has direct jurisdiction over this issue. It would be better for them to resolve this problem.

Concerning the necessity of the presence of law enforcement agencies and the lack of sufficient care on their part in these places, I must say that with the expansion of the city of Tehran and the shortage of law enforcement agents, we have not been able to maintain a presence there. Given this law enforcement weakness, I think the person who has asked the question is right. I must say that we are faced with limitations in terms of forces.

## Why Do You Not Clean Up the Mountain Environment?

Question: Our recreational areas consist of mountains, but now the mountainous areas to the north of Tehran are in a deplorable situation. What decision has the Ministry of the Interior made to improve this situation?

Minister of the Interior: I must emphasize that the mountains are among the recreational and health areas and our young people must engage in mountain climbing. Naturally, the mountains are not separate from other public places and the same situation that exists in the city and is witnessed by the Hezbollah nation also exists in the mountains, even worse. In order to prevent corruption in the mountains, the people themselves must carry out an important task. That is, I propose that the organizations, institutions and forces of the Hezbollah nation once again organize mountain claiming programs, as they did a few years ago. For example, they can hold a major portion of the mobilization training in the mountains, and with the presence of the Hezbollah nation in the mountains, corrupt currents will be overshadowed. Wherever the Hezbollah nation is present, naturally, the corrupt and counterrevolutionary forces will be unable to maneuver and show themselves. For instance, the training camps can be stationed in the mountains or the Islamic societies, committees, or institutions can organize mountain claiming programs on Friday mornings before Friday prayers so that the people will be able to participate in the Friday prayers. In any case, I recommend that the people go to the mountains, otherwise, we will face problems. Of course, we have forces in the mountains and the Islamic revolution committees of the Shemirans, Emamzadeh Qasem, Golab Darreh, Pasqal'eh, and so on, are active in the mountains and they also make the same complaints to us. Initially, they engage in guidance and instructions, but if that has no effect, they arrest the accused and send them to the judicial authorities. Naturally, at this juncture, a conscious attitude must be the basis for dealing with them in order to preserve the dignity of the Islamic Republic. But if after a short period of time, because no law exists in this connection or for some other reason, deviant individuals are freed, in addition to compromising the dignity of the Islamic Republic, our forces will also become disappointed and indifferent. In any case, we have forces in the mountains, and I think if the Hezbollah nation is present there and the judicial branch deals with the violators decisively, this problem will, God willing, be resolved.

## What Decisions Are Made to Prevent Disorder in the Sports Stadiums?

Question: What forces are responsible for keeping order in the large sports stadiums of Tehran? Can you please tell us how the horrible incident in the Martyr Shirudi Stadium occurred and who

the perpetrators of this incident were? What measures are taken and what decisions have been made by the Ministry of the Interior as the protector of security in the country to prevent the likelihood of other such incidents?

Minister of the Interior: Order in the stadiums of Tehran is the responsibility of the Police Department of the Islamic Republic. A security council of the province, headed by the governor general of Tehran, will be established. In a session in which the physical education officials were also present, concerning large, crowded games, it was decided that these games would be held on Fridays so that they would not disrupt the city traffic. Also, it was decided that such games would be held in the stadium outside the city, that is, Azadi Stadium, and that the Vahed bus company could easily transport passengers on that day. Unfortunately, concerning the incident in Martyr Shirudi Stadium, which resulted in the cancellation of the games and the infliction of damages on the people, the above-mentioned instructions by the physical education organization were ignored. Despite the fact that Martyr Shirudi Stadium has a capacity for no more than 30,000 persons, 60,000 tickets were sold.

We complained to the prosecutor of Tehran in this regard and the Prosecutor's Office dealt with this issue judicially. It is obvious that the law enforcement forces could not deal violently with the people who had come to watch the game; certain decisions should have been made earlier to prevent the incident. Those who are mainly responsible for the incident in Martyr Shirudi Stadium are the physical education organization and in particular the soccer committee. For this reason some of those individuals were arrested and bail of 30 million rials was issued for them and then they were released. This case is still being investigated in the judicial branch.

The Law of Political Parties and Islamic Societies Will Be Implemented Soon

Question: What is the situation with regard to the law for Islamic societies?

Minister of the Interior: The law for Islamic societies, in fact, includes the law for political parties and groups. On the whole, it includes political parties, groups, Islamic societies, guild unions, and religious minorities. The above law was ratified in the Majlis and the special bylaws for each of the cases of this law have been prepared. Recently, the executive bylaws of the Islamic societies were approved by the Cabinet and, God willing, the Ministry of the Interior will soon announce its readiness for the implementation of the law for political parties. The implementation of this law will begin with the Islamic societies.

### What Groups Will Not Be Allowed to Hold Activities?

Question: From the standpoint of the Ministry of the Interior, which political parties and organizations will not be granted permission to hold activities at the present time?

Minister of the Interior: Since the law for political parties has not been implemented as yet, the 10-article announcement of the Prosecutor's Office of the late martyr Qoddusi is still valid. Except for belligerent minigroups, such as the hypocrites, the outlawed Tudeh Party, and so on, which were banned by the judicial branch, other groups will be permitted to hold activities. All these parties must report to the Ministry of the Interior when the law is implemented in order to receive permits to continue their activities.

### Issuance of Identity Cards for the Afghans

Question: For how many Afghans throughout the country have identity cards been issued thus far?

Minister of the Interior: Last year, identity cards were issued for more than 800,000 Afghans. Of course, the number of Afghan brothers and sisters is fluctuating because some of them work in Iran for a period of time and then go to the fronts in Afghanistan.

This year, the Afghans in Iran responded very well to identity cards and since the deadline for receiving cards was in early fall, we still do not have the statistics for the provincial cities. Once all the statistics are collected, we will be able to announce the number of identity cards issued to the Afghans. Of course, I must mention that the reason for the warm reception on the part of the Afghans of these cards was that having identity cards provides certain privileges in regards to public nutrition and travelling.

Question: What is the reason for the large number of Afghans not having been identified yet, and why do the law enforcement agencies refuse to arrest Afghans who do not have cards?

Minister of the Interior: As I have said before, the reception the Afghans have given identity cards has been very positive, and we have even recently opened bank accounts for those who have identity cards. The law enforcement agencies deal with those who do not wish to receive identity cards. However, since they have been fighting the regime in Afghanistan, abandoning them on the border areas would mean their execution or death, or they would return again to Iran. Recently, we prepared a plan according to which in four areas of the country we have proposed special Afghan camps for violators and those without identity cards.

These camps are being prepared and in the future we will send those Afghans who have no identity cards to these camps.

Why Are the Boutiques Which Spread Western Culture Not Closed Down?

Question: One of the channels for the spread of Western culture in our Islamic society is the boutiques. Can the Ministry of the Interior, as the protector of the society's security in the country, not fight against such centers, which are primary factors in spreading anti-Islamic culture?

Minister of the Interior: The problem of the boutiques and similar problems do not concern us very much. Merely having a boutique is not a violation of the law and giving business permits to them is not a duty of the Ministry of the Interior.

Some individuals go to these shops and purchase items such as cologne, blue jeans, and, in some cases, smuggled goods. Essentially, the Hezbollah people are upset with these boutiques and those who wear Western clothing. Usually, those who wear such clothes are not part of the Islamic cultural revolution and there is no law for us to prevent such clothing and individuals. If a person commits a prohibited act, the office for fighting prohibited acts will deal with him or her. Reports from this unit indicate that in many cases, they have intervened with regard to such boutiques and have closed them down.

The problem of the boutiques and unveiling as well as problems concerning the mountains are not unrelated and the proper organizations must think of a fundamental solution to such cases. We are law enforcement agents and can deal with individuals who commit open violations. The next steps belong to the judicial branch and other organizations.

In the Cabinet, there is a committee called the committee on fighting corruption, in which concerned ministers, such as myself and the honorable ministers of guidance, education, and labor, social affairs and welfare, are members. In some cases, the prosecutor general of Tehran and the governor general of Tehran also participate in the meetings of the committee and thus far some decisions have been made in connection with the problems of prostitution and other violations.

Why Do You Not Openly Fight Unveiling and Debauchery?

Question: We have had more than 70 telephone calls from the people saying that Mr Nateq-Nuri had said that he would resolve the problem of unveiling. Does he think that there is less corruption and unveiling than a few months ago? How long must

the Hezbollah nation be a witness to such painful scenes in the Islamic Republic?

Minister of the Interior: As I mentioned in response to your above question, in the Cabinet, a committee for fighting corruption and prohibited acts has been established and certain decisions have been made which include the plan to purge the sea for summer. This plan has three stages, the first of which was carried out this year and the next stages, God willing, will be implemented next year. This plan has been prepared keeping in mind that the use of the sea cannot be prevented. Even committed forces, families of religious people, and the pilgrims to his holiness Reza also benefit from the sea on their trips. This committee prepared a plan to ensure the use of the sea without the commitment of any prohibited act. This plan was prepared with the cooperation of the authorities of the Provinces of Gilan and Mazandaran and the social affairs authorities of the Ministry of the Interior. This plan separates the dressing and swimming areas for men and women with partitions so that they cannot see each other. In this plan, it has been projected that propagation and guidance centers will be created in those areas and loudspeakers will be installed for families to be informed about each other. Also, a fee will be collected for these services from those who use the sea, which certainly people do not want to pay. In regards to the centers of corruption in Tehran also, a plan has been prepared to close down these centers. The procedures for dealing with such centers have been clarified and there are some judicial problems in this regard which are being resolved. It has been anticipated that the centers of corruption will be confiscated, some of which are to be destroyed and turned into educational centers.

Some of the problems of the boutiques, prostitution, and corruption which are seen in the society are to be expected, because not all the people of Iran agree with the Islamic regulations. Some are remnants of the previous sinister regime and there are a series of discontented individuals whose interests have been threatened by the revolution and who cannot carry out their previous corrupt acts. Or there are political currents, and their illegal activities have been prevented. In all these cases, they want to take out their grudges on the society through these actions.

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CSO: 4640/135

STALIN'S 'SOCIALIST,' KHOMEYNI'S 'ISLAMIC' HOMELANDS COMPARED

Paris NEHZAT in Persian No 79, 8 Nov 84 pp 2-3

[Paris NEHZAT in Persian; biweekly organ of the Iran National Resistance Movement]

[Text] Once again, the whims of a madman cause thousands of people to roll in blood in the wake of a useless war. The clerical government of Tehran, which constantly emphasizes that it does not fight for a few inches of land, provides nothing to the people except the claim that it has freed several square km of the "Islamic homeland."

The "Islamic homeland" is reminiscent of a phrase invented by Stalin in the heat of World War II. When he realized that the socialist zeal of the Soviet people, particularly the Russian nation, was not heated in the war, he decided to excite their national sentiments and for the first time, there was talk of the "Socialist homeland."

As the official ideology of the Soviet government and a commercial Marxist-Leninist label, Marxist ideology always rejected nationalism as a superficial phenomenon of class societies. But when the war began, it found to its astonishment that the Russian nation was only prepared to engage in life and death combat to defend its nationality. Nations live by their nationality and not by a global ideology and they are prepared to sacrifice their lives for it.

Now, history repeats itself. Khomeyni, who has always considered nationalism contrary to his religious ideology, in the heat of the war was forced to agree to the use of the phrase "Islamic homeland" in the official propaganda of the clerical regime. He who even called the National Assembly contrary to his own Constitution, an Islamic Consultative Assembly; he who has changed the name of the National Iranian Airlines to the Islamic Republic Airlines; he who has said many times that Islam was slapped by nationalism; he who begrudgingly called Mosaddeq, this

unforgettable manifestation of Iranian nationalism, "a handful of bones," now speaks of the "Islamic homeland."

But everyone knows, and most of all he knows, that he is lying. When Stalin saved his own skin, once again he rose to fight, even more severely than before, against nationalism. The terms "Socialist homeland," and "proletariat homeland" were again removed from the ideological and political books and pamphlets, and the Russian nation who had made so much self-sacrifice for that homeland realized once again that the "Socialist homeland" has been nothing but a deception to take advantage of their national sentiments. Now, it is Khomeyni who is generously paying tribute to the national sentiments of the Iranian people. If at this time they are taking the bill to change the name of the national airlines to the Majlis, it is because in Khomeyni's Islamic Republic, affairs are not logically and consistently related as they are in a totalitarian government. However, what will not change in the clerical republic, and will never change, is its fundamental enmity with Iranian nationalism. In their opinion, religion can only attain perfection by crossing national boundaries, that is, the establishment of a global government under the banner of one religion. If Khomeyni has spoken one word of truth in his life, it is what he said once and repeated a thousand times. He said he has no feelings for Iran.

What he said later and repeated was full of lies and deception. Look at the whole of this false man's short life. You will see numerous promises which he broke and you face actions against which he used to preach but he himself would do. But in Iran, there is not a spot which does not have signs of hell. The list of Khomeyni's false promises is longer than can be contained in a speech or even a book.

Instead, Khomeyni said that in Iran no longer will anyone be wronged. But, in fact, the Iranians have had nothing but suffering at the hand of this government.

In the propaganda of the Islamic Republic, blood appears to be most valuable and is given the highest value. But the truth is that nothing is less valuable than blood in this Republic. For a few square km of land which can be retrieved easily in a just, honorable peace treaty, the blood of thousands is spilled.

This skillful charlatan must be told that the "Islamic homeland" he talks about has nothing of Islam nor of homeland in it. He can have this large prison that he has built and in which he has chained millions of Iranian Muslims. After his downfall, Iranians, Muslim and non-Muslim, will rebuild their homeland.

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CSO: 4640/150



MONTAZERI: PEOPLE IN INTELLIGENCE MUST BE FREE OF HARSHNESS

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 11 Nov 84 p 2

[Text] Qom--Hojjat ol-Eslam Rey-Shahri, Minister of Information, met and spoke with Ayatollah al-'Ozma Montazeri.

During this meeting, while giving renewed emphasis to the delicacy and sensitivity of intelligence work, Ayatollah al-'Ozma Montazeri said: Intelligence is a matter that is balanced between the sanctity of privacy and the exigencies of necessity, and in order to discern the difference between the two people must be selected who, in addition to meeting moral and religious qualifications, are intelligent, capable and energetic and who will never come under the influence of harsh and extremist feelings and motivations. Our basic objective must be to preserve the values of orthodoxy and the revolution; in the handling of affairs and discovering matters which must be discovered, or in protecting the security of the country and individuals, we must not operate in such a way that, God forbid, that damage is done to the genuine values of the revolution and orthodoxy and the people are hurt. In conclusion he affirmed the necessity for intelligence cooperation with the judicial powers and full cooperation with them.

According to the same report, members of the Prisoners' Aid Society along with national chief prosecutor Ayatollah Sane'i, Minister of Industry Shafe'i, the Tehran public prosecutor and members of the Supervisory Council of Prisons met with Ayatollah al-'Ozma Montazeri, and reported to him on this society's programs and activities for supporting prisoners and their families and the society's difficulties and financial shortages. Ayatollah al-'Ozma Montazeri then noted the importance of this activity and expressed appreciation for the pains they have taken and their loyalty; he quoted the Prophetic Tradition which says: "The people most beloved to God are those who serve and benefit the people." He said: The matter of the families of prisoners and seeing to their material and spiritual needs is important both in terms of Islam and in humanitarian and emotional terms, and it must receive greater attention from officials. When a person is imprisoned, regardless of how guilty he may be, emotionally and spiritually he is constantly thinking of his family and is extremely uncomfortable and anxious on this account. A prisoner's family must not live in hardship and difficulty because he is a criminal and a sinner. "No bearer of burdens can bear the burden of another" [Quoting the Koran]. In the same regard, he stressed: In my view, support from this society should

not be limited to the families of prisoners; this society's material and spiritual aid should be extended, within the limits of its power and capability, to the families of individuals who have been executed for any reason who are asking for support and assistance and have nowhere else to turn. Concerning this society's budget, he said: Although the government, to the extent that it can be, is mindful of the society for protecting prisoners and their families, this is definitely not sufficient. It is expected that benevolent people of means who have been given an abundance of wealth by Almighty God will make charitable contributions to the society. The respected Friday Imams are trying to impress upon our self-sacrificing people what the families of prisoners and the prisoners themselves expect from this society, so that, God willing, people of means will fulfill their Islamic and humanitarian responsibilities. Concerning those who have been released from prison, have no meaningful employment, and have problems finding employment in the organizations and offices, he said: In such cases, it is advisable, even if temporarily, to extend the protection of this society to them so that they can gradually think for themselves. Otherwise these people will be driven again to sin, theft, crime, dealing in the black market and various forms of corruption; every day they will create new difficulties for the country's people and officials.

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CSO: 4640/143

## CITIZENS WORKING IN GULF STATES OFFERED INCENTIVE TO RETURN

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 13 Nov 84 p 2

[Article: "Iranian Workers Employed in Persian Gulf Countries Who Transfer Their Currency to Receive Authorization to Establish Industrial Units"]

[Text] Iranian workers who are employed in the Persian Gulf countries and have the necessary authorization to import the equivalent of a million rials in goods will have available the resources of the Ministry of Industry for establishing industrial units if they transfer their currency into Iran.

At the conclusion of his trip to the province of Zanzan last Sunday, Engineer Shafe'i, Minister of Industry, gave an interview to the ISLAMIC REPUBLIC NEWS AGENCY. He said: Iranian workers who are employed in the Persian Gulf countries and have the necessary authorization to import the equivalent of a million rials in goods into the country, and who wish to invest in industry in the Persian Gulf and Gulf of Oman regions will have available the resources of the Ministry of Industry for establishing industrial units if they transfer their currency into Iran.

He also stressed that the Ministry of Industry is determined to actively meet the country's industrial needs by establishing private, cooperative, and government industries. He added: According to government regulations, all public corporations and private sector units will be authorized to establish cement production units in Ilam, Khash, Bandar 'Abbas, South Khorasan, and other deprived parts of the country. One requirement for receiving a permit to establish such a unit is a minimum capacity of 400 tons. He stressed that in order to establish industry we must arrange for them to have less need of government currency; the currency allocated for the purchase of primary materials and spare parts needed in the factories for the current year is 2.5 billion dollars.. He noted: More than two billion of this is allocated for the purchase of primary materials, the rest for the purchase of spare parts, and 58 percent of it has already been spent.

He added: For the purpose of buying new machinery for factories under construction, 350 million dollars have been allocated, which will gradually be spent.

According to the same report, Engineer Shafe'i, Minister of Industry, went from Urmia to the Municipality of Tabriz Sunday night to visit factories and industrial units in the Province of East Azarbaijan, and also to participate in a seminar for the country's provincial industrial directors.

According to the ISLAMIC REPUBLIC NEWS AGENCY, Monday morning the Minister of Industry visited industrial offices and hand industries and looked at industrial products, accompanied by the industrial consultant for the governor general's office of East Azarbaijan and this province's industrial officials.

When Engineer Shafe'i, Minister of Industry, visited Store No. 1 of the East Azarbaijan Hand Industries Offices, he spoke with the ISLAMIC REPUBLIC NEWS AGENCY. He said: The number of rural people who have been absorbed by the East Azarbaijan Hand Industries Organization has increased ten percent this year over last year, and purchases of the products of rural hand industries from this province are up 100 percent for the same period.

Concerning the revival and expansion of rural industries, he said: For this purpose a staff has recently been formed composed of officials from Iranian hand industries and two deputies from the Ministry of Industry. This staff, in cooperation and collaboration with the brothers in the reconstruction crusade, will plan for the revival and expansion of industries which will provide rural people with a motive for remaining in the villages.

The Minister of Industry then stressed the necessity for expanding basic industries and for investing to establish large units for building and producing machinery for the purpose of starting small industrial units. He said: In issuing basic permits, the Ministry of Industry gives priority in its planning to the establishment and expansion of agricultural, chemical, and textile industries.

During this visit, the director of the National Hand Industries Organization told the ISLAMIC REPUBLIC NEWS AGENCY: Industrialists have now provided 500 villages and tribal winter quarters throughout the country with the services of this organization, and during this period [sic] 60 million tomans in the products of hand industries have been purchased.

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CSO: 4640/151

# ROLLER 500 BECOMES OPERATIONAL AT ESFAHAN STEEL PLANT

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 13 Nov 84 p 3

[Text] The country's annual steel consumption is close to 3.5 million tons, about one-third of which is obtained from domestic resources.

Engineer Hoseyn Naji, deputy minister of ferrous metals in the Ministry of Mines and Metals and acting director of the National Iranian Steel Company, announced the above during a talk. He said: Steel is like the meat and bones of the country's construction operations and the industry has a special basic role. After the 1314 [21 March 1935 - 20 March 1936] agreement for establishing a 100,000-ton steel unit in Karaj, which got nowhere because of World War II, in 1344 [21 March 1965 - 20 March 1966] the cooperation agreement between the (former) Iranian National Iron Foundries Organization and the Soviet Tiazhpereum Export Organization for Establishing the Esfahan Iron Foundry, with a capacity of 600,000 tons, was signed. He added: Operations to implement the plan were begun in 1346 [21 March 1967 - 20 March 1968] and cast iron was produced in the second half of 1350 [23 Sep 1971 - 20 March 1972]. In 1351 [21 March 1972 - 20 March 1973] the steel and sheet-metal units went into production. In former years the production and consumption of steel were on the rise, and at the present time, with an annual consumption of almost 3.5 million tons, one-third of the country's steel needs are being met domestically. The large no. 2 furnace at the Esfahan foundry, with a capacity of 1.3 million tons of cast iron, went into service at the end of last year, and Roller 500, with a capacity of 700,000 tons per year, went into service this week. It is hoped that when Roller 300 goes into operation in 1365 [21 March 1986 - 20 March 1987] the first stage of the expanded steel production line will be fully operational, and at that time more than half of the country's steel needs will be met domestically. Naji said: The sensitivity of steel is in industrial production, rather than construction, but unfortunately all we produce now is construction steel such as wire and steel contours such as girders. In this connection, we hope that in 1367 [21 March 1988 - 20 March 1989] when the Mobarakeh Steel Plant goes into production and with the production of 2.4 million tons of sheet metal, we will be able to meet the basic needs of all the industrial units—the metals industries, and even agricultural industries such as tractors, combines, and other agricultural mechanisms. In conclusion he said: With regard to raw materials, we obtain all the iron ore we need from domestic industry (the Jegharat and Bafq mines); we get more than 50 percent of the coal we need from the Abadeh Chahar Mahal mines; we get metallurgical lime from the Pir Bakran mines. We also get the Manganese we need from domestic sources.

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CSO: 4640/151

EDUCATION MINISTER: NATION'S NEEDS MUST GUIDE FIELD OF STUDY

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 4 Nov 84 p 26

[Text] The views of the Minister of Higher Education and Culture concerning the directorship of the universities, the method of procuring manpower for scientific groups, how to alleviate the existing problems in institutions of higher education, and changes in the classification system of the general admissions test, have been announced.

Dr Iraj Fazel, Minister of Higher Education and Culture, who yesterday visited the Scientific and Industrial Studies Organization of Iran's permanent exhibition on inventions and innovations, gave a talk at the end of the visit in which he expressed his views on current problems in the universities.

The Minister of Higher Education and Culture commented on the necessity to strengthen the directorship of the universities and to raise academic levels. He said: At the executive level, the directorship of the universities must have adequate power, as well as high academic qualifications. A qualified director, who also has academic qualifications, must be able to carry out his directorship in accordance with specific regulations; actually, for a ship to reach its destination, a qualified individual must be placed at the helm and the others must help him so that it will be guided in the best way.

This is the point of a centralized and single directorship of the universities. Today, unfortunately, when we discuss academic directorship, the imaginary and unreal idea is immediately created that specialization will take precedence over commitment. We believe, just as has been said repeatedly by people such as His Holiness Ayatollah al-'Ozma Montazeri, the President, and other high-ranking national officials, that in the universities the president, in addition to commitment, must have a high enough level of academic qualification that the working environment for the professors of the universities will not be limited. Clearly, the role of committed and Muslim students is very important for the quality of work in the universities, but this role must be enacted in such a way that the Muslim students are a reliable and trustworthy executive arm of the university's directorship, and that they can play their important role under the supervision and alongside the directorship. The Muslim student forces in the university, instead of being divided into various groups which usually are not coordinated in the slightest way, must unite and work alongside the directorship. At one

university which was visited recently, in addition to the university crusade, there were five Islamic students societies which were violently opposed to one another, and there is a large group of Muslim students who belong to none of these groups. This way of doing things, which causes the fragmentation of Muslim forces and prevents them from accomplishing anything, is clearly not in the interest of the universities.

Concerning the procurement of academic manpower for the universities, he said: With regard to the alleviation of shortages of academic and educational cadres in the universities, just as has already been said, the factors that caused the removal from the universities of educational cadres and qualified professors must be studied, and the universities must be strengthened and new academic cadres attracted by removing existing obstacles and creating incentives, which itself needs time, planning, and material and spiritual investment.

The universities have a great need for capital investment to alleviate laboratory and supply shortages, and in view of the importance of these matters and the low financial status of the universities, a staff has been formed recently consisting of representatives of the Prime Minister, the Plan and Budget Organization, the universities, and the Ministry of Higher Education and Culture, in order to solve these problems, which obstruct any useful measures to meet these needs.

With regard to the existence of rationing, Dr Fazel said: In view of guidance from His Holiness Ayatollah al-'Ozma Montazeri, we are presently making an analytical study of the results of the general admissions test in previous years. There are of course difficulties, solutions for which must be proposed on the basis of scientific studies. At the present time the selection of a field of study is not always done on the basis of a person's special interest in a field. Some fields are even chosen by applicants which will temporarily remove the problem of military service, in the hopes that later he will be successful in his preferred field. This has led to a great many deviations from needed and empty fields, such as chairs in the universities. These are some of the problems on which decisions must be made after study and statistical analysis concerning their implementation next year, and the necessary changes have been made.

The Minister of Higher Education and Culture commented on the reason for the change in the registration time at the universities, referring to some problems arising from the increase in capacities at the universities. He said: The Ministry of Higher Education and Culture this year announced an increase in capacity in the universities to accommodate 9,000 more students than the figure announced. In view of the fact that this matter was not foreseen in the university budgets, budget and space problems and shortages have arisen in some large universities such as Tehran University. In view of the fact that one of the responsibilities of the aforementioned staff is to study and solve these acute problems in the universities, God willing the existing problems will be gradually solved to the extent possible.

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CSO: 4640/143

## IMPLICATIONS OF REAGAN REELECTION DISCUSSED

Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 8 Nov 84 p 2

[Editorial: "Pakistan's Viewpoint"]

[Text] Pakistan views President Reagan's reelection as both encouraging and welcome. However, it does not make any difference to Pakistan whether the Democrats or the Republicans win; their foreign policy has always favored Pakistan. It is true that, like the Labour Party in the United Kingdom, the U.S. Democratic Party favors India over Pakistan (mainly due to the "Jewish lobby"). The U.S. Republican Party, on the other hand, like the British Conservative Party, does not oppose Pakistan out of habit or tradition. During the last quarter of this century, every deterioration in relations between the United States and Pakistan occurred during Democratic rule. The coolness that President Kennedy adopted continued during the Johnson era and reached its apex during the Carter term. Relations between the two countries improved considerably during the time when President Ford led the Republican government.

Pakistan can expect President Reagan to honor the agreement that he signed to provide military aid to Pakistan because of the danger posed by the Soviet aggression in Afghanistan. This is very important for Pakistan because Rajiv Gandhi, the son of our arch enemy, Mrs Gandhi, has assured the USSR that he will continue the policy followed by his grandfather, Pundit Nehru, and the queen mother, Mrs Gandhi. The USSR would like India to demonstrate its gratitude for the piles of modern weapons it has received. This puts Pakistan in a precarious position. Leaders are used to viewing the world and its problems according to their own traits, but we have to be very careful because there is no let up in the threat posed by the USSR and India. It behooves us to put our domestic affairs in order and increase our efforts to improve our foreign policy. We must make the most of this opportunity given to us by Mrs Gandhi's assassination and Mr Reagan's reelection. There is no doubt that our policies toward Delhi, Moscow and Washington are very important. The most important policies for us, however, are those formulated and acted upon in Islamabad to protect our independence and our security.

7997

CSO: 4656/26



## SOVIET GOOD-NEIGHBOR OVERTURES VIEWED WITH SKEPTICISM

Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 8 Nov 84 p 2

[Editorial: "But Their Record Tells Us Something Else"]

[Text] Mr Smirnov, the Soviet ambassador, visiting a photo exhibition celebrating the 67th anniversary of the Soviet revolution, announced that, "We do not want to leave any stone unturned for developing goodwill between the USSR and Pakistan. Actually, we are striving to improve relations between the two countries in a way that Pakistan's national interests are not effected." He emphasized that the USSR desires cooperation with Pakistan like a good neighbor with mutual respect for freedom and security, noninterference in each others' domestic affairs and cooperation. Similar thoughts were expressed by Mr Zabinov, the Soviet council general, at the Friendship Pavilion in Karachi. He mentioned the Soviet aid given to build steel mills and the power plant at Gaddu. Such talk is the usual fare at anniversaries or independence day celebrations. Pakistan has always shown its gratitude for the Soviet help in starting steel mills and electric power plants. It even has expressed its desire to increase cooperation between the two countries in the areas of industry and trade. The policies that Mr Smirnov emphasized in expressing the desire for "neighborly relations" with Pakistan, however, are not those that the USSR practices. Since the revolution, even the Russian people have suffered. Even if we call their suffering their own bad luck, we cannot ignore the allegations of China, which follows similar doctrines and ideology. The Soviet treatment of Muslim countries in Central Asia (with an illuminating past) also indicates its ruthlessness. It tried to erase Muslim rituals there. The traditional Islamic character was eliminated in such steps as changing Muslim names such as Khan, Ahmed and Faiz to Khanov, Ahmedov, and Faizov.

The kind of experience that the East European countries (Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, etc.) had with the Soviet version of "neighborliness" after War II makes one think of the old adage, "with friends like that, who needs enemies!" One independent Muslim country, Afghanistan, is also experiencing this "friendly" ritual. In order to establish a pro-Soviet government in Afghanistan, the USSR has turned its villages into ruins and its fields into deserts. And this was done as "goodwill." One-third of its population was forced to emigrate to Pakistan and Iran. In light of what has happened to the Soviet neighbors, we pray to God to save us from the Russian "neighborly" treatment.

7997

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POLITICIANS' LACK OF CONCERN FOR UNIFIED ACTION DEPLORED

Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 7 Nov 84 p 3

[Editorial: "The Question Is Not One of Selling But of Security']

[Text] Mr Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, leader of the PPP, recently said that a visit to General Zia does not mean that one has sold his soul to him. He was referring to visits by some PPP leaders to General Zia in Sakkhar in which they had assured General Zia that they would participate in the coming elections. Mr Jatoi did admit that some of his people had met General Zia but, referring to the assurances, he said that they "have assured me twice or thrice."

This talk about being sold to Zia just because someone visits him reflects the radical viewpoint and sharp difference of opinion that have left any chance of rapport between two parties as seen with complete suspicion. In such a situation, the total severance of relations between parties is made a requirement. But no matter how much difference of opinion there is, the parties have to talk with each other in order to start some kind of compromise or reconciliation. One example of this was the late General Ayub's roundtable conference in 1969 with the leaders of all opposition parties. In March 1977, PPP officials met with the opposing national coalition of parties in Rawalpindi and Sahala. Ayub Khan had accepted both demands (parliamentary government instead of a presidency and popular elections) of the opposition parties. His failure to keep his promise resulted in the martial law rule of Yahyah Khan, as a result of which our country was divided. The 1977 talks also paved the way to reconciliation between the two factions, and the national government had agreed to hold elections, at least in principle. This reconciliation, too, was never given any formal recognition. This resulted in another defeat for the politicians on 5 July 1977. We are still grieving over this procrastination, which caused us to miss a golden opportunity to establish a democratic system. Since then, though the pawns have changed the basic game plan remains the same. There has never been any serious effort to open a dialogue between the ruling party and the politicians since then. As a result of this preference for confrontation over arbitration by our leaders, our country has been subjected to three martial law regimes in about 7 years.

These old memories are revived by a recent announcement by some MRD leaders that all political parties will boycott the coming elections if they do not adhere to the 1973 constitution and the 1977 election rules. This decision by

the MRD is not unexpected, but the proposed boycott will aggravate the dissension even more. This prolonged dissension has already caused us enough grief. Reference to Bangladesh would not be out of context here. The opposition parties boycotted the elections there, resulting in the postponement of elections for an indefinite period. In Pakistan, elections have been postponed twice since July 1977. The elections that were to be held "within 90 days of November 1977" were sacrificed to the demand of "first police rule then revolution." The leaders who were responsible for cancelling elections in 1977 are the same who now demand elections as soon as possible. The elections that were to take place in November 1979 met the same fate. The politicians who were overjoyed at that postponement are the same who now comprise the top leadership of the MRD.

Prolonging internal strife and declaring a boycott of elections is easy since negative feelings are easily incited into negative actions. General Zia and these politicians should consider the other issues and problems that our country is facing. Dangers looming large at our borders do not allow us the luxury of internal strife. What we need is a resolution of our conflict and national unity. Indira Gandhi's death and the resulting violence between Hindus and Sikhs in India has not helped Pakistan in any way. This causes additional danger to our country. People are aware of these dangers, but our leaders seem to be ignorant of them. The rulers and politicians should recognize these dangers and try to bury the hatchet as no one will benefit from this prolonged strife. The stubborn elements who have joined forces with our enemies should also worry and so should the MRD leaders. The MRD leaders are aware that this is the last chance for elections--should they let it pass or should they, keeping in mind the problems our country faces, cooperate with the government to confront the dangers our country is facing? This is a time for unity to protect our freedom and stability. Good leadership considers it its duty to work in concert for the welfare of the country and not foment agitations. This would avoid bringing grief to the common people.

7997

CSO: 4656/25

## PAKISTAN-IRAN TRADE TALKS OPEN

Karachi DAWN Business Supplement in English 25 Nov 84 p 1

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, Nov 24: Five committees have been constituted by the inaugural session of Pak-Iran Joint Ministerial Commission, which began its three-day deliberations here this morning.

The visiting Iranian Minister for Finance and Economic Affairs, Dr. Hossein Namazi, led his delegation at the talks, while the Pakistan side was led by the Federal Minister for Finance, Mr. Ghulam Ishaq Khan.

The Iranian Minister was assisted by the members of his delegation, while Pakistan Minister for Finance was assisted by the Secretary-General, Economic Affairs Division, Secretaries for Finance, Production, Agriculture, Industries, Communications, Education, Railways, Science and Technology, Chairmen, CBR and NDFC, and Principal Economic Adviser etc.

The committee constituted today relates to the sectors like trade, agriculture, industry, cultural, educational and technical matters as well as transportation.

These committees will finalise their recommendations as well as proposals, for cooperation between the two countries in their respective fields.

The Joint Ministerial Commission will consider these proposals for approval at its concluding session on Nov 26.

Soon after the inaugural session of the Ministerial Commission, the five committees started their work in their respective fields.

### Satisfaction

Welcoming the Iranian Minister and members of his delegation, the Federal Minister for Finance said that it is a matter of great satisfaction for us that the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran attaches great importance to its relations with Pakistan. We wholeheartedly reciprocate these sentiments. We are glad to note that economic and commercial relations between Pakistan and Iran have been developing on sound lines, reflecting common interests and objectives. It would be, he declared, our sincere endeavour to work jointly with you during this meeting to accelerate the pace of translating these objectives into practical measures of mutual cooperation.

Giving a brief review of the memorandum of understanding signed between the two countries last year, the Finance Minister said that generally speaking the progress has been satisfactory. Trade between Iran and Pakistan, which had reached a level of dollar 422.8 million during 1982-83, increased further to US dollar 531.2 million during 1983-84. Pakistan has made every effort to meet its commitments under the memorandum of understanding to supply foodgrains, although the overall availability of exportable surplus was affected by the impact of adverse weather on rice and wheat crop.

Out of the total contracted quantity of 300,000 tons of wheat 253,000 tons have already been supplied. The balance of the wheat is being presently loaded for shipment.

### Rice shipment

The entire contracted quantity of 300,000 tons of rice has been shipped to Iran, the Minister added. He further said that Pakistan had earlier sold 50,000 tons of urea to Iran. Another contract for supply of 50,000 tons was recently concluded. The entire contracted quantity has been shipped.

Talking about private sector, the Minister said it exported 208 million sq. metres of textiles, 2,000 tons of tarpaulins, 16,000 tons of cotton yarn, leather worth 12.5 million dollars, 10,000 tons of woollen yarn, 23,000 tons of chemicals, 3,000 tons of chip-board, etc. etc. to Iran since the signing of M.O.U. in Tehran in September, 1983.

Reciprocating the gesture, the Iranian Minister expressed satisfaction at the increasing pace of collaboration with Pakistan in various fields. But, he said, there were still some areas which could be explored for further collaboration. He hoped that Commission

during its deliberations and its committees would be able to identify these sectors for fruitful and meaningful cooperation. He suggested that agriculture and irrigation were the two sectors in which there was enough scope for mutual cooperation.

Earlier, the Iranian Minister called on Federal Minister for Finance, Mr. Ghulam Ishaq Khan.

### Oil purchase

Talking to the dignitary, the Federal Finance Minister said that Pakistan was willing to make an additional purchase of oil from Iran in sizeable quantity to correct the trade imbalance.

He disclosed that a textile delegation may also visit Iran at some time for negotiation with Iranian officials on issues connected with this sector.

The Iranian Minister said that Iran was keen to import more and more products from Pakistan. He expressed satisfaction that Pakistan has achieved self-sufficiency in various items. He felt that both the countries can meet each other's requirements and develop their existing relations on sound footing.—APP.

CSO: 4600/113

# GLOBAL SOUTH ASIAN POLITICS, PAKISTAN'S INTERESTS DISCUSSED

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 13 Nov 84 p 4

[Article by Ahsan Ali Khan]

[Text] Of late Washington has accorded greater importance to South Asia than ever before. It is borne out by the focus of attention on South Asian issues in the American media and political circles, President Reagan's letter to the President of Pakistan, the visits paid by Mr. Richard Murphy, the U.S. Assistant Secretary of State, to New Delhi, Islamabad and Colombo (in that order) and the Conference, called by Murphy at Colombo, of U.S. ambassadors accredited to South Asian countries.

## Carter's Tenure

South Asia was comparatively a less important region during President Carter's tenure. The revolution in Iran and the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan revived in the U.S. perception the importance of South Asia. These developments harmed the United States economic and political interests and posed a challenge to its strategic posture in the region. Still President Carter considered the South Asian land mass a region of low priority. The line of "thus far and no further", drawn by him for the Soviet Union, passed through the Persian Gulf excluding Iran, Afghanistan and South Asia from the United States' security orbit. Nevertheless, the Carter Administration wanted to use the Afghan resistance as a stick to beat the Soviet Union with in order to bleed it white and keep it bogged down in the Afghan quagmire as long as possible. To carry out this policy Pakistan's cooperation was necessary. President Carter offered an aid package of 400 million dollars which Pakistan refused. It was President Reagan who raised the aid package to 3.2 billion dollars with the objective to enlist Pakistan's active support and cooperation in the context of his hawkish policies against what he called "the evil empire". Pakistan accepted the aid package and revived the "close relationship" of 1950s, although with the reservation that it would not be allowed to deviate Pakistan from its path of non-alignment.

However, Pakistan has been since then treated as an ally of the United States by its neighbours. Pakistan's relations with India and the Soviet Union have deteriorated inspite of the present regime's efforts to sign a no-war pact with India, repeated denials of the charge that it was supplying arms to

Afghan guerillas, recourse to solve the Afghanistan problem by peaceful and political means under the U.N. auspices and assurances that Pakistan would not give bases to any foreign power. They are convinced. There is a crisis of confidence between Pakistan and its two neighbours, India and the Soviet Union. The Indian armed forces stand mobilised on Pakistan's eastern borders, the Soviet-Afghan troops have come right up to north-western frontier to seal the Afghan guerillas routes and bombardment of border areas by the Afghan aircraft is a usual occurrence. To cap it all, the Afghan President has recently threatened to use the right of hot pursuit of the Afghan guerillas well within Pakistan's territory.

In view of mounting pressures on Pakistan's borders it was hoped that the United States would do something to bail its friend out of the difficult situation. Instead, the U.S. politicians and media considered it an opportune time to mount their own pressure to make Pakistan give up its nuclear programme sign the NPT and completely fall in line with the U.S. policies in South Asia and vis-a-vis the Soviet Union. Senator Cranston's ballyhoo over Pakistan's so-called Muslim bomb and discussions in the Senate and media on the subject were followed by President Reagan's letter to the President of Pakistan. Full contents of the letter are not known. However, its selected extracts were leaked to the Wall Street Journal about a fortnight before the date of Presidential election. According to these excerpts President Reagan expressed concern not only at Pakistan's security in view of cross border raids by the Soviet supplied Afghan aircraft but also at Pakistan's nuclear programme. The letter assured Islamabad of Washington's support and offered to sell Pakistan Early Warning Aircraft; but warned, according to the version of the Wall Street Journal, that Pakistan's nuclear programme "could undermine all that we are trying to achieve". This version was, in a way, certified by a State Department spokesman who said: "Over time, we hope to persuade Pakistan that the pursuit of such a capability (nuclear weapons) is neither necessary nor in its broader interests". The Wall Street Journal made it clear that Pakistan risked losing the 3.2 billion dollar aid package if it pressed on with its nuclear programme.

Thus the Journal made explicit what President Reagan had left implicit in his letter. It also let the cat (rather cats of the Jewish and the Indian lobbies in the U.S.) out of the bag by pointing out that Pakistan's nuclear programme might force India to launch a preemptive attack against Kahuta and that the programme had "ramifications for the Israeli-Arab conflict". The Voice of America reported on October 29 that according to a private U.S. research group India would soon be exploding a second nuclear device as it had been keeping a nuclear test site in high state of readiness. If India carries out another nuclear test, the U.S. Administration may not go beyond verbal protests because the Jewish lobby would not mind India making the bomb. However, Pakistan's case is different, it should not be allowed to pursue even a peaceful nuclear programme.

#### Policy Directives

It is not known what briefing and policy directives did Mr. Murphy give to American ambassadors in the South Asian countries after his talks at New

Delhi, Islamabad and Colombo. However, his statement given to a group of editors on October 29 at Colombo shows that he tried to remove misgiving, establish better understanding and strengthen the U.S. position in the region.

At New Delhi, Mr. Murphy must have replied to the Indian charges that the U.S. was instigating Pakistan by raising false alarms that India might attack it or bombard its nuclear facilities, that the U.S. had supplied to Pakistan the secret information it gathered through its intelligence satellites and that the CIA was helping the subversive elements in India. He might have tried to pacify India by assuring that the U.S. Administration would not allow Pakistan to use American weapons against India and that the U.S. was not looking for military bases in South Asia. Such assurances have always been given by successive U.S. Administrations but the Indian leaders have always disbelieved them. This time the discrepancy between the American official's words and the actual situation is obvious. Mr. Murphy said that he did not expect confrontation between Pakistan and India, although forces of the two countries are arrayed against each other on their common frontier.

What is of concern not only to India but to all other littoral states of the Indian Ocean is the United States' newly acquired special position in Sri Lanka. Mr. Murphy told the press that Sri Lanka had agreed to open its ports for the U.S. naval vessels, that the VOA had set up a radio station at Trincomalee and that the United States was a party to the agreement under which Tel Aviv had set up an Israeli Interest Section at Colombo. Mr. Murphy also said that he did not foresee the possibility of Washington's participation in a Conference on the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace until the Soviet Union withdrew from Afghanistan. This declaration of non-cooperation when linked with the strengthening of Diego Garcia base and the newly acquired position in Sri Lanka throws a flood of light on the cold war strategy of the United States and belies Mr. Murphy's claim that the U.S. is not interested in bases.

On the one hand President Reagan wants to have a serious dialogue with the Soviet Union on all major issues including "regional conflicts", on the other hand, steps are being taken to consolidate and expand the U.S. influence in the third world regions. It may be with a view to strengthening the United States' bargaining position during negotiations with the other super power on "regional conflicts". But there is also the possibility that in the process of strengthening their respective bargaining positions the two super powers may fight local wars by proxy. In the first case Pakistan's fate would be decided by the two super powers, in the second, it is likely to become a battle ground.

For Pakistan a difficult situation has developed. On the one hand its friendly super power, the U.S., is not reliable; on the other hand, it has earned hostile attitude, if not active hostility, of its two big neighbours, one of which is a super power. It would be wishful to think that the change of personality at the seat of power in India after Mrs. Indira' Gandhi's assassination would change India's basic policies or hostile attitude towards Pakistan.



Rather it may prove to be a change for the worse. Henry Kissinger has expressed the view that weak leadership in India is more likely to be tempted for war against Pakistan.

It seems that the most crucial time in Pakistan's history is around the corner. At this juncture only the will of the people and their active participation in the affairs of the state can ensure the security and safety of the country.

CSO: 4600/103

## MRD'S 'POLITICAL ARITHMETIC' ANALYZED

## 'Crucial' Juncture

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 13 Nov 84 pp 4, 5

[Article by Dr Mohammad Waseem]

[Text] MRD is facing its crucial moment ever since its formation in 1981. Not that it is struggling against heavier odds than before, considering the fact that it is the same regime against which it initially united its ranks. Nor this government's crackdown on the MRD parties and politicians is any more than before. In fact, the opposite is true, if we take into consideration the recent release of some top-ranking politicians

The fact that lends crucial significance to MRD thinking at this juncture is that it represents a wide shade of political opinion in Pakistan and is therefore a factor in determining the course of political activity in the immediate future. The question arises which particular course of action does it envisage vis-a-vis the promised elections in the coming months. In case of a negative response, a related question will be whether or not it has the capacity to put impediments in the way of elections, if and when they are held under the August 12 formula.

If we concentrate on various opinions expressed by the MRD politicians from time to time, no dominant thinking comes out clearly. With political activities, meetings among politicians and open dialogue all banned, it is natural that a situation of muddled thinking and ideas based on remote guess-work will emerge. However, if we place together some of the underlying themes of discussion here and there, one can observe some sort of crystallization of thought on major issues. As far as President Zia's political thinking is concerned, by now its broad contours have become pretty clear, although the details of final break-through in the electoral politics still remain hazy. On the other hand, the MRD, being a nonstatist grouping of political parties representing different, even contradicting, standpoints on many political issues, has been trying to wade through the severe constraints on its activities. Its political thinking at present reflects these constraints as well as its internal divisions along factional and party lines. At the same time, it reflects different responses to various government moves and the thinking of non-MRD parties. Can we, therefore, speculate whether the main opposition alliance would come out with a yes/or/no attitude on the issue of elections?

Let us see, for example, where the PPP stands on this issue. The opinions of PPP stalwarts are influenced by many factors, including the absence of many of its leaders, its left-of-centre political programme and its organisational collapse at this moment. In the present context, we can mention two features of the party profile which stand out as determinants of its electoral policy. Firstly, the PPP is the largest party in MRD; in that capacity, it carries a political weight far surpassing that of other parties in the alliance. And yet this very fact has led to problems within the party ranks. PPP represents a variety of classes and groups as well as all the major regions of Pakistan, all of which can and do have different, even contradictory, politico-economic interests, reflected in varying levels of loyalty to the party. It is no secret that the present Majlis-e-Shoora contains more members from this party than from any other political grouping. This scale of defections is an eye-opener for the PPP leaders. They are acutely conscious that in a political vacuum, where elections remain a far cry, party men would tend to seek patronage from the administration. PPP, therefore, cannot afford to blindly push its workers to an election boycott, without at the same time incurring huge costs in terms of its own credibility. After all, PPP, more than any other party in this country, is an election-oriented party considering its mass-base in society at large. In fact, its stakes in elections are higher than that of all other parties put together, especially because it involves the prospects of government-formation, given an uncomplicated process of electioneering. Correspondingly, its willingness to boycott elections, which are dimly visible on the horizons after a long wait of seven years, is bound to be ambivalent and controversial. In simple words, while it stands to gain much more from elections than other parties, it tends to lose much more in the case of a boycott.

Here then the second most significant aspect of the PPP politics comes into play, namely, that it is the main opposition to the regime. After all the military took power directly from the PPP and has held it responsible for a large number of acts of omission and commission in 1970s. In utter desperation, PPP leadership either sought refuge abroad or tried to look towards other friends in adversity. The party leadership became conscious of the fact that it could not launch a mass movement single-handedly in a bid to change the status quo. It thus adopted a strategy of forging alliance with those PNA parties which saw eye to eye with it on issues. Ever since, the PPP has stuck to this policy of not seeking to steer through the troubled waters of Pakistan politics on its own. In combat with the latter, it can ill-afford to lose allies. All this binds the PPP's standpoint with the view of the rest of MRD parties. As the latter have come out against participation in the elections rather persistently, no room is left for PPP for going ahead with elections without its MRD compatriots.

What about other parties of MRD? There are those parties which are regionally concentrated such as NDP and JUI; they would like to contest elections in normal circumstances because there is no other way of keeping their following intact on a long-term basis. Also, in comparison with the present situation where there is absolutely no scope for them to thrive on public legitimacy, the elections promise some sort of public voice to them, especially in parliament. However, their perception of losing political integrity is so rampant, and finally the disbelief in the efficacy of elections proposed to be conducted so deep that these parties have shown constant hesitation to take the whole

idea seriously. It seems they derive their confidence from their respective followings in certain localities for an eventuality like election boycott.

Other parties such as PDP and PML (Khairuddin Group) which have a relatively thin layer of urban followers in some areas have generally represented the conscience of MRD. With little electoral prospects, they tend to uphold principles, and denigrate deviants from agreed policies. It is their confirmed opinion that participation in elections held under the August 12 formula amounts to legitimising the status quo. They point out the oppressive character of the current political system which has constantly denied the public representatives freedom to operate even with a minimum quantum of mobility. It is this sense of insecurity which has bound the smaller parties of MRD with PPP. And it is the search for some political space under this system which forced them to struggle for elections under the 1973 Constitution during the MRD agitation in 1983. They seem to be unswerving in their attitude of boycotting the coming elections.

On the other hand, the political thinking of Tehrik-e-Istiqlal has all along been rather enigmatic. Various aspects of Tehrik's handling of policies related to elections and transfer of power to political representatives has puzzled observers, and, what is even more significant, alienated its partners in MRD. Some militant elements among the latter have accused the Tehrik in the past for harbouring ambitions for a solo flight, for believing in a short-cut to power, for not putting all its cards on the table and for side-stepping from the MRD thinking on the election issue. However, since Asghar Khan's release, the Tehrik's activities point to a different direction. It has come out in favour of joint struggle and for an oppositionist stance on elections. Asghar Khan's long confinement, which was perhaps longer than that of any other political leader under the present Martial Law regime has won him a certain level of respectability which Tehrik would zealously guard. In this atmosphere, Tehrik is acutely conscious of the fact that it cannot afford to be seen treading a path different from the mainstream opposition politics. While the cosmopolitan and modernist outlook of the Tehrik leadership and its urban middle class support base tend to push it towards pursuit of high office, Asghar Khan's popularity among wide sections of the public might command a strategy based on politics of the people.

#### 'Shying Away' From Elections

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 14 Nov 84 pp 4, 5

[Article by Dr Mohammad Waseem]

[Text] In this survey of political attitudes of PPP and other parties of MRD, we can find a gradual shying away from elections under the August 12 formula by almost all the major parties. It was this process which culminated in the joint statement of MRD leadership in Peshawar on October 29 against participation in forthcoming elections. The parties have come out rather strongly against any dissident members amidst their ranks who would participate in these elections directly or indirectly.

The main hurdle in MRD's participation is the controversial nature of these elections. There is for example the issue of party-basis of elections. It would involve, as far as the MRD parties are concerned, an option to willingly liquidate themselves or to keep the party discipline intact and thus secure the continued existence of organized political life. Naturally, the parties would seek to opt for the latter. Now if the choice of political parties has become clear, the next choice will be whether there would be party-based elections or party-based election-boycott.

Other aspects of the forthcoming elections as envisaged by these parties have also led to a critical view of the whole exercise. President Zia has recently pointed out that the forthcoming elections are meant to widen the sharing of power and not transfer of power. For MRD it may refer to the continued structural presence of the military within the state machinery in the form of a national security council, thereby wielding supreme power over and above the elected government. Or it may refer to a situation of no formal swearing in of any elected government at all, and just co-opting certain elected members into the government. In any case, the forthcoming elections do not promise a sovereign parliament (subject of course to Allah's sovereignty, as MRD points out). In addition, the present government has often mentioned the possibility of elimination of certain candidates on moral grounds, to be judged and carried out by its own administrative machinery. This is anathema for MRD, which considers it simply a mechanism of bypassing the regime's opponents. Also, President Zia has mentioned more than once his liking for nominations along with elections for recruitment to the future Majlis-e-Shoora. This, again, has created widespread dissatisfaction and irritation among the MRD ranks over the whole idea of elections under August 12 formula.

Where does all this lead us to? What sort of political future can we expect in a short-term perspective given this thinking among the MRD parties? In this context three factors can be mentioned which have the potential of changing the direction of events or otherwise slowing their pace. Foremost among them is the attitude of non-MRD parties, especially the JUP, PML (Pagara) and JI. Although their support either way is not crucial as far as the tussle between the Martial Law government and the MRD is concerned, they can't at times effect a change in the balance of forces. In so far as JUP is concerned, it has all along tried to keep its distance from the government. It seems that this party will in all probability tend to support MRD, if only because it will find it difficult to stay away from the main current of political action.

On the other hand, PML (Pagara group) has continuously shown its interest in taking part in any type of elections. Although this party has enjoyed governmental patronage from time to time, it has not been able to broaden its base beyond a few selected constituencies of rural Sind and one or two factional groups in Punjab. This party stands to gain most out of a stage-managed election, if some well-publicized and demonstrable support is forthcoming from government quarters. But, it seems, the regime is not convinced of PML's potential for mobilizing enough support for it so as to deliver the much-sought after legitimacy. Since some relatively better research calculations of different parties standing in the public have surfaced in the media, Pir Pagara has been allowed to slide into backyard. Most probably his influence will remain limited to the Hur areas only.

As far as Jamaat-e-Islami is concerned, it thrives essentially on a non-electoral context of politics. Any process of seeking genuine mandate from the masses is bound to alienate it, unless the elections are sufficiently trimmed to suit its taste and capacity. That will need such a level of commitment to its fortunes which the present government is not ready to extend to it. The regime has already conveniently distanced himself from the Jamaat. There is no pressure on him to reverse this process. In fact, this regime might be afraid that Jamaatists and other fundamentalist elements would land it into an ideological cul-de-sac from which it wouldn't be easy to come out without paying a heavy price. Also the fact that Jamaat has persistently failed as an election party is responsible for partial erosion of government patronage for this party. Despite all this, however, Jamaat's options are limited and it would in all probability continue its present pro-government stance, unless it finds its own legitimacy in danger, in which case it might restart negotiations with MRD.

Apart from the non-MRD parties' another factor which must be considered in any analysis of MRD's future role relates to its capacity to launch a country-wide movement at all. It is easier said than done. MRD's weaknesses are many; multiplicity of political aims, lack of institutional link-up between various party-cadres, lack of unified leadership and most of all the burden of failure of its non-cooperation movement in 1983. Amongst its strengths can be counted the exhaustion of the present government's options other than going to elections, the pooling of manpower resources in terms of political workers and the recent crystallization of agreement of minimum programme of boycotting elections. A big factor in this regard is the structural constraints over all types of political activities. That means the MRD parties have to spend a maximum level of time and energy for planning high-level meetings and other joint ventures, leaving no opportunity to them for constituency-level mass contact. The way MRD tries to overcome these constraints will decide the nature of their planned boycott itself.

The third factor which can influence the pattern of politics in the coming weeks and months is the possibility that instead of partyless elections on which assumption is based the whole MRD strategy of boycott. President Zia announces party-based elections. Such a move would disrupt the MRD's political strategy and has the potential of disturbing the unity among its ranks. Individual parties might feel tempted to avail this rare opportunity of winning some representation in the assembly. Even if such representation means nothing in actual power-holding, it offers chances of patronage or some portfolios in any coalition arrangement at the centre and provinces. If President Zia announces such a move it will clearly be meant for outsmarting MRD in its political calculations. Be it a leaderless PPP or Tehrik with a leader but without a large party-base, especially in the rural areas, or NDP with its limited scope in territorial and sectoral terms, or any of smaller parties, every political organization worth the name is likely to balance out the disadvantages of elections based on August 12 formula with advantages of its party basis. However, if the regime's thinking throughout the recent years is any guide, it would rather balance out the advantages of partyless election against its disadvantages, and finally might come out with an election without parties. MRD's political thinking would therefore not necessarily receive a jolt in this type of framework.

We can thus sum up MRD's attitudes in terms of both principles and expediency. In the former case, democracy remains the main reference point for all action envisaged by it. In the latter case, however, it has to take into account the multifarious factors related to political and extrapolitical fields, which would either boost up its potential for mass mobilization or render its objectives futile and self-defeating (Concluded).

CSO: 4600/103

# DECISION TO BOYCOTT ELECTIONS 'WILL MISFIRE,' SAYS OFFICIAL

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 14 Nov 84 p 8

[Article by Ashraf Hasmi]

[Text] ISLAMABAD, Nov 13: People belonging to various political parties will not accept the total boycott of the forthcoming general elections, as planned by the MRD, for the simple reason that they cannot afford to remain out of active political life for as long a period as 12 years. This was stated here by Zain Noorani, the Sind Minister for Excise and Taxation, who is also reportedly now acting as political adviser to the provincial Governor.

Giving his personal views about the prevailing situation in the country, he told 'The Muslim' that seven years of martial law rule have already passed and if these people do not take part in the coming elections, they will be out of politics for another five years, and at the end of such a long period nobody will recognise them even if their own constituencies. Therefore, he said, if the MRD parties decide to boycott the national polls their decision will have no practical meaning as the majority of their supporters will violate it and contest the polls.

Talking about his own province, Zain Noorani said the majority of the families that have remained active in national politics for a long time cannot afford to create a political vacuum, especially in their own constituencies, which will be filled by new people who, with the passage of time, will corrode their traditional hold. In a situation like this, he said, these political elements will take part in the election only to secure their own future and for the rehabilitation of their position and influence in their home constituencies.

Answering a question, he said personally he did not think that the Government would indulge in any mass screening or disqualification of candidates. The President himself, and a number of other Government spokesmen, have repeatedly stressed that people would not be debarred from contesting the polls merely because of their past political affiliations.

Allaying such apprehensions, Zain Noorani emphatically affirmed that the elections in the country would be free and fair. The Government, he said, has no intention of rigging the polls in any way. "You will not see ballot boxes disappearing or being stuffed with bogus votes in favour of any candidate this time," he maintained.



## PAKISTAN

### BRIEFS

DEATH SENTENCES CONDEMNED--Lahore, Nov 24--The Lahore High Court Bar Association has in a resolution expressed its deep concern on the award of death penalty by the Special Military Court, Karachi, to four persons, namely Malik Ayub, Issa Baluch, Nair Baluch and student Saifullah, and life imprisonment to Rasool Bux, on the charge of helping the hijackers of a PIA plane. The resolution was passed in a general meeting of the Bar held here under the chairmanship of Mr Khalid Mahmood, president of the LHCBA. The resolution, moved by Mr Liaquat Ali Waraich, demanded that the sentences be set aside and the cases tried in a civil court of law where the right of appeal be granted to the accused. The house observed that the death sentences were in utter disregard of the recognised principles of criminal jurisprudence recognised internationally, and against all norms of justice in civilised communities. The house further considered that the death sentences announced by the military court, if executed, would cause great damage to national unity. The bar also appealed to all the Bar associations of the country to pass similar resolutions of condemnation. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 25 Nov 84 p 2]

ELECTION RIGGING IN AZAD KASHMIR--Rawalpindi, Nov 24--Noted Kashmiri leader K.H. Khushid on Saturday feared massive rigging in Azad Kashmir forthcoming general election. The way A.K. Election Commission had begun to function, convinced politician, polling may not be fair, he said. Mr Khurshid told here a news conference a fair and free election was the only solution to the issues in Azad Kashmir. The situation at Azad Kashmir Control Line, he said, was also not encouraging because of assembling of the "snow warfare division," which India, he said, had recently moved near border. Mr Khurshid asked the Government to release all the students. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 25 Nov 84 p 2]

INDIAN CAMPS FOR SINDHIS--The New Delhi bureau of HURMAT has learned that the Indian Government is setting up some camps in areas of Rajasthan close to India's border with Pakistan in the province of Sind. The purpose of these camps is to settle those Sindhis who, according to certain Indian Government officials, will flee the persecution of the military government of Pakistan and enter India. According to our report, such camps were also set up during the MRD [Movement for the Restoration of Democracy] campaign in Sind in 1983, but the Indian authorities were said to have been very disappointed when no Sindhis crossed the border then. [Text] [Rawalpindi HURMAT in Urdu 28 Oct-8 Nov 84 p 4]

RIGS FROM USSR--LAHORE, Nov 7: Pakistan has purchased two rigs from the Soviet Union at a cost of three million dollars each. They will be delivered next year, our Lahore Bureau reports. To use these rigs, Pakistan will require an additional equipment of about the same value. This will be imported from western countries. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 8 Nov 84 Business Supplement p 1]

COMMISSION ON WOMEN REPORT--QUETTA, Nov. 8: Pakistan Commission on Status of Women on last leg of its seven-day visit to Baluchistan has begun tour of the provincial coastal areas to record views of women and others on preserving and promoting the status of women within the framework of fundamentals of Islam. The Commission is led by its chairman, Begum Zari Sarfraz. The Commission will submit its report to the Government in late January or early February 1985. [Text] [Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English 9 Nov 84 p 6]

ARMS RECOVERY: INVESTIGATION CONTINUES--RAWALPINDI, Nov. 11: The CIA investigators are still in a dilemma as to the motive behind the possession of a huge quantity of arms by two persons, which were recovered from their house, which were recovered from their house, located in a village near Rawat, four days ago. Explaining, a CIA official told 'The Muslim' that the 'main character' in the arms smuggling case had since escaped to a foreign country. The CIA was about to nab two more persons in a few days for their alleged involvement in the case, which after the actual story would have been revealed the official claimed. The accused were quoted by the CIA official as having confessed to the investigators that they had nothing to do with the intention of the real racketeer whatsoever and the arms were just placed in their house with their consent for selling them in the underworld. The accused are, at present, with the CIA staff on physical remand. It will be recalled that a CIA party received information as to the hoarding of arms in the accused's house and recovered 5 hand grenades, two detonators, two rifles and a large number of cartridges. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 12 Nov 84 p 8]

VULGARITY OF YOUTH--One of our correspondents has written us with great anguish details of what he saw in a public bus. According to him, some young men entered the ladies compartment of the bus and acted unruly. They did not let them get off the bus. When one tried to get off, they pushed her and she fell down. When some female students were getting off the bus at a college campus, these men made suggestive remarks and even pulled their dopattas [scarves]. These are not isolated incidents but are common sights in our cities these days. Bus conductors are afraid of these men. If respectable men sitting in the bus try to admonish these unruly young men, they are insulted. There is peace for a few days if the police become active, but then they go back to their dirty tricks again. This deterioration of character and antisocial behavior is a national embarrassment to us. Our leaders and the parents of these young men should act quickly to stop this unacceptable practice. [Editorial] [Text] [Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 7 Nov 84 p 3] 7997

LOAN FOR TARBELA PROJECTS--Islamabad, Nov 24--The Asian Development Bank (ADB) has approved a US dollars 169 million loan for the Tarbela hydropower extension (Units 11 and 12) project. The loan will be funded from the bank's ordinary capital resources (dollars 137.2 million) and its special funds resources (dollars 31.8 million). The project has been given high priority in Pakistan's Sixth Five-Year Plan and is an integral part of the power development plan of the Water and Power Development Authority (WAPDA). Its implementation will provide the additional peaking capacity, urgently needed to help relieve chronic power shortages in the country. Within this framework, the project's main objective is to provide additional hydropower generating capacity (2x432 megawatts) on a least-cost basis to meet the forecast load demand in 1989-90. [Text] [Karachi DAWN Business Supplement in English 25 Nov 84 p 1]

WOMEN JUDGES FOR FAMILY COURTS--Muzaffargarh, Nov 24--The Government has decided to appoint women judges in the family courts, according to reliable sources. The decision was taken in accordance with the spirit of Islamisation of society and with the creation of courts headed by women judges, the Government had shown its desire to preserve the sanctity of the women. The source disclosed that the Council of Islamic Ideology has approved the Government's proposal. It may be recalled that the Council in its meeting had adopted a resolution in this regard. The Government had sought the council's opinion on the issue, who had recommended certain proposals while approving the official decision. The Council in its report said that with the proposed setup women would be provided easy justice. The source said the court would have jurisdiction in family and women's affairs. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 25 Nov 84 p 3]

BANNED LEADER VISITS DISTRICT--D.G. Khan, Nov 24--Maulana Fazlur Rehman, in spite of the ban on his entry into D.G. Khan arrived here, held a Press conference and delivered Khutba in Jamia mosque, Peer Qataal and went back to Multan. Earlier on his way to D.G. Khan he visited Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan in Khangarh. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 25 Nov 84 p 3]

ILLEGAL DOCUMENTS FOR IMMIGRANTS--According to one report, there are 130,000 illegal immigrants in our beloved country. Among these, 21,000 are believed to be from Bangladesh. There are no records of their entry into Pakistan. The addresses that they give are fictitious. Most of them are women, and it is almost impossible to trace them. The immigration officials have arrested hundreds of such people at the borders. They are either from Bangladesh or Iran. They try to obtain Pakistani passports for emigration to other countries. They also have Pakistani identification cards. A few facts have come to light. First, the immigration people have not kept records on or track of illegal immigrants from Bangladesh and Iran. Second, in our country it is very difficult to obtain an identification card legally, but one can be obtained within hours illegally. The same goes for passports. Some agents hover around the passport office and can get you a passport for a tidy sum within hours. There is no dearth of people who forge passports by switching photographs. This business is so widespread that the police can do nothing to stop it. These people are not hiding anywhere; they can be seen around the passport office. The problem is that the whole system is corrupt and needs overhaul. We hope that our federal officials will have some solution to this problem! [Editorial] [Text] [Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 7 Nov 84 p 3] 7997